

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 36. 8p. Mean Fomhair 6, 1975.

## IMPUDENT SUGGESTION BY REES

**THE IMPUDENT** — or helpless — suggestion by Merlyn Rees in Belfast, that people living in the neighbourhood of the "Murder Triangle" of Counties Tyrone and Armagh should stay in at night, imposing upon themselves a voluntary curfew, lest they be shot dead in the dark, has been answered logically in statements from Briogaid Bheal Feirste, Oglaiha na hÉireann, and by the public relations officer of the Sinn Féin Newry and South Down Comhairle-cheantar.

The main point, a telling one, is that if British troops (including the Ulster Defence Regiment, the SAS and the MRF) and police (including the Special Police Reserve) were withdrawn from the area, local people and visitors would know how to react against waving red lamps on lonely roadsides and accompanying persons dressed to resemble soldiers.

Whether or not impudence was intended, the Rees statement is open to the interpretation that the British, who claim the right and the ability to operate "law and order" in the Six Counties, increasingly are finding it impossible over huge areas. The obvious thing for them to do in the circumstances is to cut their losses and get out.

Many thinking people, by no means all sympathetic to the aims of the Republican Movement of bringing permanent peace to Ireland, believe the British are in fact preparing to quit, and the communication media gradually are conditioning the public to accept this possibility which was virtually unthinkable before the Irish-British Truce.

But, while the politicians in Westminster and the civil servants in Whitehall (and Stormont) are dithering — or preparing for Scotland — the boot is being put in all the more viciously by the spearhead of imperial repression, the British army.

### FATAL PLASTIC BULLET

The worst example of that repression, if we are to ignore British and R.U.C. involvement or collusion in the terrible spate of unprovoked murders of civilians (about 21, last week), was the killing of Stephen Geddis (19), Davis Flats, by an enemy plastic bullet, fired at pointblank range on Thursday: he died in hospital on Saturday.

Stephen had just returned from a holiday in America. The disturbance in which the fatal plastic bullet was used had been provoked by the bullying tactics of the Anglican Regiment, including very rough body searches and unprovoked assaults on young people of both sexes, often taken out of sight so that they might be beaten up without witnesses.

Local people retaliated by building a barricade at the junction of Albert Street and Cullinstree Road and stoning enemy troops. When the enemy arrived to remove the barricade, the people set it on fire and renewed the stone-throwing. The enemy replied with the four-inch long plastic bullets, each weighing about half a pound and, has now been proved conclusively, fatal at close range.

The death of Stephen is the family's second tragedy since the war began. The father, with friends in both communities and a reputation as a good neighbour, was looking over the balcony of the line of flats in the building, one day late in 1971, down into the Shankill, when a volley of shots was fired from that area.

He was hit but, after hospital treatment, survived... as a cripple: he had been shot in the spine and he can never work again. With difficulty he is able to hobble about on two sticks and his cheerful son Stephen, always ready to go on an errand for him, was one of the great joys and consolations of his handicapped existence.

### ILLEGAL ALTERNATIVE

The story, unfortunately, is not uncommon in Belfast where many families have suffered more than one bereavement or crippling at the hands of the same forces of "law and order."

When Sean McGill was fined a few pounds two years ago for some minor offence, the judge did not order that if he failed to pay he would be beaten up: no such official alternative exists in British law. But this is exactly what happened after the Paras went to look for him and found him.

After beating him up they took him away but later released him without charge.

A new type of internment is being practised in Belfast: charging members of the nationally minded community with serious crimes, involving their being remanded in custody for as long as a year, before their trial comes up.

The idea is to charge a man, for example, with a "sectarian murder," even though he can produce witnesses to prove that he was nowhere near the scene of the crime at the time.

But, even though they know that their case will fail in the court, members of the R.U.C. continue to make such arrests and press such charges, apparently in an effort to reassure "loyalist" opinion as to their efficiency and bias.

Defence lawyers in Belfast are furious at these so obviously transparent neo-internment tactics. But, by a united protest, and by seeking the support of their colleagues elsewhere, they could force Merlyn Rees to order the police to end this scandal. At present the police have a free hand and, as usual, the nationally minded people take the brunt of the attack.

### FOUL BORDERERS

The King's Own Scottish Borderers Regiment has a vile reputation since it first came to Belfast in 1970 and succeeded by its foul language and insulting behaviour in sparking the Ballymurphy riot — an interesting example of the enemy's peace-keeping tactics and its usefulness in inspiring a respect for law and order.

Many of its members, judging by their boasting, their slogans and their actions, are among the most devoted adherents to the more disreputable traditions of the Orange Order. Why they should have been sent to Belfast during the uneasy July-August period, when Orangemen is at its most heated, is anybody's guess. But it fits the general theory that the present policy of enemy troops is to incite the two communities into attacking each other and provoking the nationally minded people into rioting.

The Borderers are on duty in the Bone area and one of their peculiar pastimes consists in driving at high speed along the narrow streets in their jeeps, forcing local people to jump for their lives. Photographs are kept by them of known Republicans, including ex-internees, who often get a hammering.

Last week Hugh Nugent (23), an ex-internee, was recognised and arrested. He was lucky: there was no beating-up. But he was taken away and held for hours without having been provided with any logical reason. Others have not been so lucky and a frequent ploy is to beat up the ex-internee, then charge him with assault and have him put back in the Kesh on a framed-up charge, as documented here in previous issues. But constant arrest and unlawful imprisonment is employed consistently as a recognised method of harassment.

The main reason given for the presence of the Borderers in the "Bone" is the protection of the workers — all "loyalist" — employed by the Strocxo works. On August 28, while the soldiers watched, the "loyalist" workers stoned local people from inside the plant. People complained but the soldiers just laughed.



Merlyn Rees

The following day, at lunch hour, the "loyalists" emerged, armed with stones, and attacked local homes in the Mount Pottinger Road. This time the enemy troops encouraged the stone-throwers vocally while protecting them from retaliation.

One of the soldiers was heard shouting to the "Fenian bastards": "You drove the English out but you won't drive us out, we're the Scots." Pathetic, while their own country is being sucked dry by British and American speculators.

On the night of August 27, Dermot Brophy (15), Upper Meadow Street in the New Lodge area, was going home, minding his own business, when the Paras swooped. He was grabbed and, before being thrown, senseless, into the bottom of a jeep, was headed, like a football, from one brave para to another and then beaten with rifle butts.

Dermot was charged with riotous behaviour (!) and then released to get medical attention for lacerations to head and face. He is not a member of any organisation in the Republican Movement.

### SPATE OF MURDERS

Dermot escaped with his life. Another 15-year-old was not so lucky. Denis McAuley, of the New Lodge area, was walking past the Rose and Crown Bar on the Ormeau Road when he was shot dead, possibly by a member of the SAS. He was a Catholic but Protestants, too, have been killed the same way by members of the same bloody regiment.

The systematic killing of Catholics has resulted in demands from some quarters for retaliation in kind — as hoped for by the perpetrators — but Oglaiha na hÉireann continue to emphasise that the Army's policy continues to be opposed resolutely to the killing of innocent people.

Some Belfast people were surprised that Stanley Orme should agree to meet and talk to a member of an organisation which has admitted freely to killing people merely because they were Roman Catholics: the Red Hand. It happened last week.

Many nationally minded people were disgusted at continuous attacks on one family — that of Seamus Twomey — by the Rev. Dr. Ian Paisley. They were surprised that the American government should grant visas to representatives of the U.V.F. — which has boasted of its sectarian killings — while denying visas to representatives of Sinn Féin, preventing a Republican voice from being heard in Amherst, near Boston, thus rendering potentially valuable discussions virtually useless.

### GLINT OF HOPE

Those same talks have had very limited coverage in the Irish media which follows so faithfully its master's voice in London — London was hostile to the talks. Nevertheless, sufficient has emerged to indicate that there are some voices of reason among the "loyalists": those of such as John Taylor and Glen Barr.

Their quoted opinions would suggest that there is much room for hope that progress could be made, and quickly enough, were Republicans to take part. But can any such all-Ireland conference take place and its participants talk meaningfully and realistically as long as enemy troops remain in occupation of any acre of Irish soil?

Britain, in her own, long-term interest, if she has any hopes of having a good next-door neighbour in Ireland, must withdraw from Ireland at once, and all pretence at any right to interfere at any level in Irish affairs, and leave the Irish people to solve their own problems in freedom.

The substitution of United Nations troops for British regiments in the north-east, as being urged in recent days by Fianna Fáil, if proposed by Britain, will be regarded as an unfriendly act by the Irish liberation forces for such an operation would merely consist in the exchange of one foreign occupation force by another and would not bring Irish freedom one hour nearer.



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was futile. But the Specials didn't bother to deny it. They were proud of it. The Special Police Reserve of the Royal Ulster Constabulary continues in the same tradition. "Unexplained killings of civilians" are blamed more or less equally on the new Specials and the U.D.R., particularly in the "Murder Triangle."

It is with such people and organisations that the Dublin regime has been collaborating for years, a collaboration it seeks, now, to intensify. The old B Specials could be excused by London as not quite its responsibility: Stormont "controlled law and order." No such excuse can be made today.

Collaboration with London means acquiescing in the crimes of the new Specials, the R.U.C. and the U.D.R. Equally, however, such collaboration involves acquiescing with the savagery of the Parachute Regiment in the North, among both Protestant and Roman Catholic communities, and of the misbehaviour of the occupation forces in general. This needs to be hammered home constantly and consistently.

Two recent incidents deserve far greater publicity than they have received. In Belfast's Baden Powell Street, a "loyalist" area, the Parachute Regiment tried to incite the local women into attacking neighbouring Catholic women. When the local women refused they were attacked by the Paras with the usual ferocity, as a reprisal. It needs to be emphasised that the Paras are the most disciplined regiment of the British army: they do exactly as ordered.

The second incident also concerns the Parachute Regiment, accused in a statement from Briogáid Bheal Feirste, Ogligh na hEireann, last week, of having handed over to the Ulster Defence Association dossiers concerning Republican leaders, including photographs. The Paras went farther along the road to incitement to civil disorder and worse when they invented a story of an alleged Republican plan to attack "loyalist" areas.

Again, however, this is nothing new: British officers of other regiments stationed in the North have supplied similar official military intelligence dossiers in the past to "loyalists" and have attempted to bring about community clashes by means of "unexplained killings of civilians" and other acts. When caught, armed, wearing civilian clothing, on such errands, the accused have been cleared by the courts.

It is vital that the mass of the people in the 26 Counties be convinced that the increased collaboration between Dublin and London against the struggle for freedom, peace and justice is collaboration in murder, with murderers. The facts are there. They must be made known to every man, woman and child in the country if the peace campaign by the Republican Movement is to have the rapid success it deserves.


# Déb

NIL a thíos agninn cé mhéid acra tá faoin gearraíocht, faoi stoc agus eile; cé mhéid de riast is portach is corca is eile ar féidir a chur ar fáil don churaíocht; cé mhéid daoine a mhairiann ar an gearraíocht; cé mhéid feirmeacha tá sa cheantar; cé mhéid acra tá ag na ngnáththeirm; cé mhéid a thuilleann an ngáth sheirmeoir; cé mhéid daoine a mhairiann ar eacnamaíocht mheasca; cén staid ina bhfuil an comhar-chumannachas; agus go leor leor eile.

An mbeadh dream éicéint in Oileisclú Na Uladh sáidúid le Fionntán chun ah píeitiúr a lionadh isteach dúinn?

faoi "Na Cnó," deir Fionntán: "Shílfeá ar an gcóad amháin nach bhfuil maith sna cnóe, ach amháin lea n-áilleacht. Ach tá gaineamh, gairbhé, agus clocha i gceiste agus cá bhfios mianraí... Is cinnte go bhfuil clocha luachmhar i dtuáil lea iuf in oifigi i mBaile Átha Cliath agus in oileiscléanna sa tír seo agus thar lear": fíor. Tá leat maith eolais ar fáil. Tá mianraí sna cnóe náir obriodh toisc go gcuirfeadh sin isteach ar an tionscal i Sasana (Conradh 1921!)

Tá rud spéislúil alge faoi "An Ghaoth": "...Rinneadh taighde ar



an chloiche tuarthaigh agus ba é  
bairtíl na sainiolaithe gur fearr a  
d'íreochadh le gléas gaoithe agus  
ceantar Cnoc Fola ná in aon áit  
eile le lártha 'Eireann.

**Nollaig Ó Gadhra, Coirdeir**  
radh na Gaeilge, ag bronnadh  
seic ar £50 as Amanda Pat

Gaillimh, cinn a bhfuil ga  
 aile le Sean-Phádraig Ó Co  
 aile. Le ciste a bhunnaigh  
 leacht a chur os cionn chana  
 na ar scríobaireas sa reilig nu  
 i nGaillimh, atá ar £50.  
 Taobh le Nollaig tá Seoir  
 Taobh, Máire Bean Uí Chona  
 (ciste) ionad phoiblí, Ruc  
 muc Agus Dónall Ó Lúbhí  
 (cathairleach) an ionad poib  
 aile). Agus taobh thair, dea

Beldh a thuilleadh cainte again  
faoin mbileog amach anseo. Dean-  
faidh sin cúis don tsochtain seo  
agus cuirtear tús leis an agallamh.  
Ar a lughad ar bith ta cloch caite  
ag Fionntán ar an gcarn.

# sa nGearmáin

Beag a dhéanann Bord Fáilte Éireann ina chuid bolsaireachta faoi gceol i gcoitinne, faoin teanga, faoi na féilte cooil (an dá Oireachtas, fleánna, na feiseanna). B'fhearr leo tír eile a phointeáil do dhaoine thar

THE ULSTER Defence Regiment has been under a cloud of suspicion for many months. The cloud has become thicker in recent weeks because of allegations that U.D.R. members have been involved in unprovoked murders of civilians. Considerable publicity has been given to allegations that members have been responsible for massacres such as that of Askani. All this emphasis has been put on the U.D.R. as if it were an independent unit when in fact, of course, it is an integral part of the British army, no stranger, in Ireland or abroad, to unprovoked murders of innocent people for the political purposes of those who control that army, in Westminster and Whitehall.

To attempt to isolate the U.D.R. and divert public attention from the fact that it is an integral part of the British army is part of the propaganda ploy of the friends and servants of enemy occupation and administration of Ireland, directly, as in the Six Counties, or indirectly, as in the neo-colonial 26 Counties.

That the U.D.R. has been responsible for murders and kidnappings, as well as for relatively minor crimes of assault and battery and wrongful imprisonment, is well known to many people, particularly in the Six Counties.

It has much the same reputation as the B Specials, some former members of which serve in its ranks. That reputation is so notorious that its recruiting policy – to get a fairly respectable proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants in its ranks – has failed utterly: Most pro-British Catholics in the North with any sense would feel anything but safe serving with the U.D.R.

For some 50 years the B Specials, with London approval, terrorised the nationally minded people. Documented evidence of that body's murders, woundings and burnings has been collected and published. Much was so well documented that denial

FEICIM ó "Inniu" (Lúnasa 29) go bhfuil ruaig curtha ar dhaltai eile fós de chuid Ghaeltacht Thír Chonaill isteach sa nGalltacht, sna Gleanntai, mar atá an dhunscoil ag an Sraith, Caiseal, agus an focal faoi ag na heagrais Ghaeltacha is Gaeilge, monuair.

Ach is cosúil go bhfuil "Inniu" ag admháil, faoi dheireadh, go bhfuil loil méireacht ar an gcultúr á dhéanamh ag an Saorstát agus á'daon turas.

Sin a bhfuil le tuiscint as an eagarfhoical san eagrán céanna de pháipéar, tá ag deánamh caldise faoin gcinneadh maidir le sceim an £10 a fhágáil faoi Roinn na Gaeltachta (the Department of the Reservation), rud a fhágann na hardstáiseirbhíshigh i Roinn an Oideachais ro sona sásta.

Féach. 'Céann de na fíthnánna go bhfuil an Roinn breá sísta, bhain réidh leis an gcúram a bhaint leis an leim £10, go dtugann sé d'els don Roinn deiradh a chloí leis an searbhóir. Tá aithne acu féin ceantair a raibh orthu lagrach a dhéanamh freastal orthu ó thobh oidcheas ar fíthnánna. Ó tugadh an t-ia bhunoidheas 'sior' íteasach, agus go háirithe ó searbhóir an t-ia bhunoidheas a chur i fíthnánna scoile ina ríabh 400 dalta do ghnáth, tá deachraichtí breise agus an Roinn Oidcheas. Is minic a bhíonn doanra na gceantar bealaí Gaeltachta ag feastatú chomh maith le turasóirí. Tá mbealaí leimeal na Gaeltachta atá lag agus roibh do thobh doanra agus nach bhfuil teaghlach ar fíthnánna le fáil ann a thuaslaí.

"Is ceann de na torthaí atá i meo go bhfuil an t-lár-bhun-oidéachas don Ghaeltacht á chur ar fáil, i go leor casanna, i scoll-eanna Bearla taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht shirinneach. Má chuirtear deireadh leis na ceantair atá aitheanta ag an Roinn Oideachais mar Ghaeltacht agus murabfionn aon cheantar faoi leith den Ghaeltacht, ní fheadaí an t-oidéachas a chosaint."

Gaeltachta aici feasta is cosúl go leanfaidh an scéal amhlaidh agus nach mbeidh iarbhuiníochas a fáil ina gceantar féin ach amháin ag na paistí a bhaineann leis na ceantair Ghaeltachta is faisiríne. I dte sin mura gcuirtear clem a oideachais ar an Udarás nua atá geallta agus mura mbíonn a tUdarás sin in ann socruithe nua dhéanamh a thabharfadh tús áit do leas na Gaeltachta i ngach aois.”

· Ag foghlaim

pháipéar a bhí chomh dáid (nó  
pháipéar) leis a chloim sin ann.  
Ach ní theánn sé sách fada chuig  
an tSínne a nochtú ina hionláint  
láid, go bhfuil an Saorstáit anois go  
láidir in éadan Gaeilte. Is Gaeilte  
achta agus go tréan díogaireacht  
ar son an Bhéarla ina dGaeilteacht  
(nó ar son síce amháin di, agus  
ar son síce eile, ach ní áiríonn  
geannas na nGaeilteacht a  
meánaimle).

An tuigean "Inniu" ar  
pháirtíphóilíocht? Má thuig  
eann, cén fáth ar tsaoifid a  
fóid Uainn ná Gaeilteacht, gles  
na nGaeilteacht, agus na nGaeilte  
nach bhfuil donláthacht, nach  
meibíod tofa ag na daoiné, agus  
dámháine cheana ag Conrad  
na Gaeilte, ag Gluaiseacht Chearta  
Sibhialta na Gaeilteacht, agus  
bhíofas don, ag gach coise chomh  
donláth Gaeilteacht sa tír?

Bealach amháin le tabairt  
faoin bhfadhb: Institiúid Oideachas na Gaeilge (b'heath, b'heath) ldir, an tdeidal a sháilíu mar "Institiúid an Oideachais" bhunú agus i úsáid mar ghleat troda eile fós ar son an nseailíu Institiúid a mbeadh ball ag nseailíu amh ar son na dtuistí, na ndalta na muinteoirí agus na scoileanna. D'headfaí tus a chur leis a Institiúit trí chloistí troda bhunú i nGhaeilteach agus measc daoine de mhuintir na Gaeilge sa nGallteach. Cailtheas uilíochas a dhéanamh.

Cé bhíall an Gaeilcht? Cé chun na nGallacht a dteastóid uathu a oideachas trí Ghaeilge a chur ar fáil ar gach bhéibéal?

Cé chomh maíll? nó chomh dona? atá curraí le fáil a dhéanamh maidir le teaghlach a dtógáil ar Gaeilge?

An tseachtain seo caite d'fhéadann lliom a gcaim - cúlrair na Gaeilge achta a gConamara, más fíor - ach bhíall ach an teaghlach a bhíid fídhá ar an tséadhbhaile bhíid mairt a dtógáil na Gaeilge.

## Bileog Fhionntáin

[illegible]

CUJREANN sé fóntas ar fáil bhfuil an-tóir go dtéar ar cheol na hÉireann ar an Mór-Róin i léarán na hÉire. Tá Pacal Reulach Dúibhlínn (nó Sráid na nIascáir) i gCo. an Chláir, ar tarna ainm ar an áit) tar éis (fáillead) den tríú uair ar Ghearmán agus gach seans ann go mbeidh sé ag imeacht uainn arís gan mórán mólle eile chun cuairt eile a thabhairt ar an áit.

[illegible]



# Photo snatched from "Security Forces"



ABOVE is a section of an aerial photograph snatched by Republicans from the "Security Forces" in the Armagh area. On the photograph one house has been arrowed and the number 22 written beside it. The house arrowed is that of Seamus Grew who is now on remand in Crumlin Road Jail.

## ATTEMPTED MURDER BY R.U.C.

Early in May, an attempt was made on Grew's life, when four members of the R.U.C. — Inspector Greene and Constables Poland, Hill and Wylie, ambushed him and opened fire on him as he was returning home from a club. They were assisted in the attempt by John Mulally of Drumarg Park, Armagh, a self-confessed paid police spy and informer whom Óglaigh na hÉireann later ordered to spy the country or face execution.

## "SECURITY FORCES" INVOLVED IN SECTARIAN MURDERS

Though very serious, Seamus Grew's injuries did not prove fatal. It seems certain that had the four R.U.C. men succeeded

in their dastardly attempt to assassinate Grew, who is a Catholic, his death would have been recorded as another "sectarian murder".

The question must also be asked: How many "sectarian murders" have been the work of the so-called "security forces"?

Angered, no doubt, by Grew's capacity for survival, the R.U.C. arrested him and brought a series of charges against him. Too ill to be sent to prison, he was placed in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast. Later, he was removed to Crumlin Road jail where further charges were brought against him.

## BRUTALLY ASSAULTED

The murderous attempts on Grew's life did not end with his imprisonment. In a letter smuggled from Crumlin Road jail, he wrote:

"I was assaulted by prison wardens on Monday night. My left arm (the one in which I was shot — receiving a broken humerus) was badly hurt. The official explanation for my beating, was that I tried to escape from the Royal Victoria Hospital, but I have not been brought before any Court and

charged with such.

"When I was shot in Drumarg, my teeth were shattered and I lost four, and since that time, some 2½ months ago, I have as yet received no dental treatment whatsoever.

"I AM BEING HELD 24 HOURS A DAY IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT. I AM NOT ALLOWED ANY EXERCISE AT ALL. I HAVE BEEN REFUSED CONTACT WITH PEOPLE OF MY OWN POLITICAL PERSUASION, AND I AM BEING TORTURED 24 HOURS A DAY FOR MY SO-CALLED ATTEMPTED ESCAPE.

"Parcels, which my wife has left for me, have mysteriously disappeared, with the loss of quite valuable items.

"I have been moved from hospital although I am in no fit condition to be out of hospital — let alone try to escape! Several days ago, I asked to see a priest, but as yet this request has been ignored.

"The prison warder who has been most responsible for verbal and physical assault upon me, IS A MEMBER OF A LOYALIST PARA-MILITARY GROUP — NAMELY THE 'ORANGE VOLUNTEERS'. I have proof to this effect."

# Sinn Féin support Heritage Year

At a recent meeting of Cumann Sabhat — O hAnnuain — O Caoghainn, Sinn Féin the Chairman, Mr. Michael Nolan, referred to the desecration of built-up areas of the town by slogan-daubers and on behalf of the cumann, condemned it without any reservations.

Sean Doyle, U.C., dealt with European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975. He said that, in the last twenty years or so, we have had the Urban Revolution. It can be seen all over the country. Towns spreading out along approach roads, important buildings destroyed or badly mauled, a very low standard of modern design, many of our beautiful shop fronts taken out and replaced by crudities topped by neon signs and, of course, we have our traffic problems.

## Heritage Year hopes

"I welcome European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975, and I sincerely hope that it will make us aware of our own heritage to such an extent that we should advocate the setting up of a National Heritage Fund," he said.

"It is our duty to preserve the best of the past and to create a new beauty so that future generations will want to preserve what we are now building in Enniscorthy."

"Many insensitive developments have taken place since the coming into operation of the 1963 Local Government Act. Town planning is considered more or less an administrative process, an extension of the engineering services. We have a great scarcity of town planners and it is a serious problem.

"We are inclined to look upon preservation in a purely negative manner — preservation for its own sake. Experience in many countries has now established that the mere listing of a building is at best only a help. The ideal approach, of course, is that buildings worthy of preservation should be integrated in a positive and meaningful way into the life and activity of the town."

"This is a common problem all over Europe and one of the principal objectives of E.A.H.Y., 1975, is to focus attention on the question new uses for old buildings."

"We, in this country, generally have no concern for, or appreciation of architecture, and I will say we have no great interest in the visual arts."

"Our educational system is seriously at fault here. I accept that it is great to be aware of the details of the valiant stand made by our forefathers at Vinegar Hill, to be aware of Irish and world literature and many other important subjects, and then we leave school and proceed to create an ugly environment for ourselves and completely ignore one of the lines of literature we thought inspiring at school. "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

"The architects, town planners and engineers by their designs, shape an environment which will last, we hope, for many generations. They translate into physical terms decisions made by politicians.

## More imagination

"We, in Local Government, must use more local imagination regarding our housing estates.

"All our building schemes should be aesthetically pleasing — from the individual house design to the

overall appearance of the total estate to the provision of greenery, trees and open spaces.

"Enclosed spaces are also needed so that mothers can allow toddlers to roam at will — a kind of an oasis of tranquillity in this day of instant panic."

"Every town is unique and Enniscorthy is certainly unique and its architectural heritage is as important as our language and music."

Our task is to accommodate changes and still retain its character.

"People enjoy visiting pleasant towns, but we must admit that we have derelict areas and ugly spots in the town, but over-all it is a picturesque and beautiful town, dominated by Pugin's Cathedral, St. Mary's Church and the Norman castle, which is now a wonderful museum, an ideal example of what E.A.H.Y., 1975 is trying to foster."

"It is our task to keep our town beautiful and eradicate the ugliness without interfering with its general layout."

"Can we afford all this? In my opinion, an attractive area or town is a national asset and cannot wait until we are rich to be preserved and conserved."

"If we are sincere, let us set about the creation of pedestrian precincts and traffic-free areas; the prohibition of motor parking in streets and squares of historic or architectural interest, the improvement of amenities by removing ugly outdoor advertisements, the replacement of obtrusive, excessively large or garish shop signs by others which are better suited to the character of the surroundings and the repair, painting and cleaning of buildings."

"We, in Ireland, should have a Ministry of the Environment and a National Heritage Fund and a

genuine school of Irish Architecture and Planning."

"We hope that European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975, will bring it about and that we no longer just pay lip-service to what is desirable but fight for it to become a reality."

"Our main problems in Enniscorthy are litter, derelict houses and sites, rubbish dumps, fly-posting on E.S.B. poles, lack of landscaping, the promenade and the river area, drab and roofless buildings in the vicinity of the Abbey Sq., dumping of junk on footpaths, open spaces rather deprived and many others."

"It is our opinion that Mr. Tully's recent message concerning planning appeals is not conducive to good planning. The message will not help the morale of the conscientious county official."

"Although many of them were never trained as planners and it is inferred, if they gave a breezy go-ahead to every application, it would certainly make their lives easier. We have no time for expediency."

## What must be done

"We believe that all vacant premises in the urban area which are structurally sound, whether owned by private interests, the State, semi-State bodies or local authorities, should be acquired as temporary accommodation for families waiting to be housed."

"Let us get rid of our derelict houses, let us use our vacant houses and let us build upon those ugly vacant sites."

"Let us all together clean-up Enniscorthy and let us hope that the local Press will keep prodding us all into constructive activity."



# "A BIG BIG LIE"

THE BIGGEST British lie of the year so far — described here two weeks ago (page one) — has rebounded so badly as to constitute the enemy's greatest blunder.

The lie concerned events — or alleged events — surrounding the attempted car-bomb destruction of the Republican Press Centre in Belfast. In the course of a curious, Gothic account of those events, largely imaginary if not psychodrama, the British spoke of shots being fired from an ambulance. Last week, the ambulance drivers of Belfast denied these allegations utterly.

The ambulance drivers said that the British army statement concerning shots being fired by a soldier at two gunmen from inside an ambulance, was totally false. The incident never happened, they say.

The statement by the enemy said that one of its patrols have been attacked when it went to the scene. Later, two soldiers heard of injured people in a house and went there. A blast bomb exploded and one of the soldiers was knocked unconscious. A man, they

claim, grabbed his gun, and pointed it at the soldiers, but his comrade shot the gunmen, and recovered the weapon.

Then, said the enemy statement, the soldier got a civilian ambulance and ordered it to be driven to the Royal Victoria Hospital, with himself and his mate inside. Down Leeson Street it was stopped by a crowd who opened the doors.

Crowd

The crowd parted, showing two gunmen, the less seriously injured soldier opened fire, hitting the two gunmen and he then ordered the driver to drive swiftly to the hospital, which he did.

But in the statement from the ambulance men Mr. Sidney Spence, secretary of the Northern Ireland Ambulance Section of the National Union of Public Employees, said that the ambulance was not in any way involved in any dangerous transaction.

"The doors were not opened, and nobody pointed a gun", he said. At no time was the ambulance stopped or interfered with in any way. "Our first priority is the care of the sick, and we will carry anybody anywhere".

An enemy spokesman refused to comment until the statement by Mr. Spence had been examined!

Mr. Spence said that he had carried out an investigation into the British statement, and he was sure that the two-man crew he spoke to were in the ambulance referred to by the enemy.

"We would like the army to leave us alone, and let us get on with the job of carrying the sick and injured to hospital. We have remained impartial throughout the troubles, and have carried terrorists as well as members of the security forces to hospital."

"We are afraid that the army statement will give a wrong impression of the ambulance service", he stated.

# THE PRICE OF IGNORING HISTORY

By Brian Gaffney

"The Fall of the British Empire" is a workmanlike product of British writer Colin Cross. His references to British policy in Irish affairs is most pointed and are hardly pertinent to the present Ulster situation. We quote the author's historical observations on Ireland.

"In a context of atrocity and counter-atrocity, the British try to rule by force but after two years of appalling fighting. Meanwhile, the six Protestant counties of Ulster — which included a substantial Catholic minority — were granted home rule on the 19th century model; that is they elected their own Parliament at Belfast for local affairs but continued as a section of the United Kingdom with M.P.'s also at Westminster. By 1921, the proposition that no imperial power, however powerful, can in the long run hold down an intelligent, organised population intent upon independence, had become obviously proved in Ireland. — Essentially, it was a perversion of the "prestige" on which the British Empire so largely depended; rather than admit that the Irish had won, the British had

to disguise what had happened by pretending that, in some mysterious manner, they were still loyal to the Crown.

Moreover, the Irish disaster peripherally weakened British influence in other ways. The Irish had been among the most energetic of overseas settlers and had moved in large numbers to the United States. Even in 1918, there were more Irishmen in the U.S.A. than there were in Ireland. Irish emigrants and their descendants retained an attachment for their ancestral country and were bitter over British treatment of it; the existence of an anti-British vote among Irish Americans made it more difficult for the British to attract United States support in maintaining the imperial dream. At the same time, though, the Irish example of successful guerrilla warfare against the powerful British army was not to be followed by anybody else for a generation. — It was not until the 1950's when the empire was already in an advanced state of decay, that rebellion of the Irish intensity in Kenya and Cyprus heralded the final downfall. What the Irish did do was to implant, in a generalised fashion, in the minds of distant subject peoples the notion that the British might not,

after all, be invincible".

The pointed observations of Colin Cross certainly apply to the situation in Northern Ireland today. The dismemberment of the British Empire started on the streets of Dublin in April of 1916. Britain has not learned from history. This is evidenced by British insistence on repeating past errors and her conduct of a full fledged war against the Irish people in Northern Ireland. Harold Wilson still has illusions of grandeur. His "Empire" is gone, save that remaining in northeast Ireland. But even there, the Queen's writ is meaningless. The British line is a many, toothless caracat. The empire is gone.

## Sympathy

THE REPUBLICAN Movement regret to learn of the death of Mrs. Ryan, Oxford and express their sincere sympathy to her husband, George, and family.

## Roger Casement Commemoration

(Dun-Laoghaire)

Annual Parade & Commemoration to Birthplace of Roger Casement, Sandycove, on SUNDAY 14th SEPTEMBER '75

at 3 p.m.

Oration by Gerry O'Hare

Parade will assemble bottom of Marine Road D/L at 2.30 p.m.

Led by St. Kevin's Pipe Band Bray.



Larry Grogan of Drogheda Sinn Fein seen addressing the gathering at the John Boyle O'Reilly Commemoration at Dowth Cemetery.

# SINN FEIN PLEA TO THE GAA

AT a recent monthly meeting of the Co. Wexford Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein (Kevin St.) held in Enniscorthy, with the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Michael Nolan, presiding, a resolution was passed calling upon the Wexford Co. Board of the G.A.A. and the Leinster Council of the G.A.A. to use their influence as a National Organisation to seek the release of Deslie Ferguson, the former Dublin hurler and footballer.

The Secretary of the Comhairle Ceanntair was instructed by the meeting to send a copy of the resolution to the Secretaries of the Co. Board and Leinster Council.

## RESENTMENT

The Secretary, Mr. Phil Kelly (Wexford), said that there was a feeling of widespread resentment over the timing of the arrest of David O'Connell.

In arresting the jailing O'Connell, the Government had deliberately aimed a deadly blow at the six-month-old Truce and, more importantly, at the prospects for a permanent peace in this country.

He was jailed as a result of an opinion expressed by a Superintendent as was Deslie Ferguson.

Mr. Cooney, the present Minister for Justice, expressed opposition to the Flinná Fall inspired Amendment to the Offences Against the State Act before it was passed. The Agents' Bombs changed matters and obviously Mr. Cooney had no reservations about using Mr. Des O'Malley's infamous law to-day. It was to be hoped that all lovers of Gaelic games would not forget Deslie Ferguson or his wife and nine children who are now

without their beloved breadwinner.

## HOUSING PROBLEMS

Sean Doyle, U.C., said that, from his short experience as an Urban Councillor, he had become aware of the amount of deprivation and genuine poverty in the area.

In the Enniscorthy Urban area, the lack of housing was a serious problem in spite of the best efforts of the present and previous Councils. "It is generally accepted that all families would like to own their own home, but I have always felt that in the Public Housing Sector it was bad social policy to introduce the Tenant Purchase Scheme."

In Enniscorthy it had led to the situation that no Council houses are becoming vacant, whereby a family in dire need of housing without any financial resources of their own, are still left in 'dire need' because they have not the £3,000 or £4,000 to purchase the 'key' of the 'tenant purchased house'.

I'm not blaming any Council tenant for purchasing his Council house because the law is there to allow him to do so, and, in most cases, he would be foolish not to avail of the benefit of the

scheme".

"I would be the first person to condemn the rack-rent flat leaser and in favour of closing down all flats not up to the required standard, but in the present situation such flat-owners must thrive because young married couples with low incomes are forced to pay high rents for sub-standard flats for the very simple reason that they have nowhere else to live, and I, as a Councillor, can in no way be associated with their being put out on the street without a roof over their heads while their better-off compatriots can afford the 'key money' for a house that was originally built for the people I have referred to living in flats and condemned houses."

The only way to solve the problem would be to build more and more houses and demolish all condemned houses, close down all sub-standard flats, and, under the present law, administer the Tenant Purchase Schemes as fairly as possible but in the end the tenant purchaser will always sell his 'key' to the highest bidder, and who can blame him!"

The meeting concluded with organising final arrangements for the showing of the film "British Brutality in Long Kesh" in Clonroche Hall on Friday night, 15th August.



Sinn Fein demo in London (taken on August 10th) to mark the 4th year of internment in Six Counties. Derek Hystead (far right in white) of London Comhairle Ceanntair, directing the 500 + marchers.

PATRICK McADOREY  
CUMANN  
LUTON SINN FEIN  
(SASANA).

The Committee and Members of the Patrick McAdorey Cumann (Luton) England, wish to acknowledge receipt of £25 from Mrs. Angel O'Dwyer of Leicester, Luton Republicans are eternally grateful to Mrs. O'Dwyer for her continuing support despite much adversity for the political prisoners dependants at home and in Britain.



# SEAMUS HARVEY

TWO new Cumann have been formed both honouring the name of Vol. Seamus Harvey. The new cumann in Castlederry elected the following officers: Chairman, Mick McHugh; Vice-chairman, Felix McAteer; Secretary, Anne Breslin; Treasurer, Nan MacNenian; Joint-treasurer, Mary Breslin. Any one wishing to join contact Secretary Anne Breslin, 15, Magherenny Road, Castlederry, Co. Tyrone.

## WESTMEATH AGAIN

A new cumann has been organised in the Moate area of Westmeath. This brings to two the number of cumann operating in this area. The cumann was named after Vol. Seamus Harvey who died in a premature execution in 1972 in Donegal. The following are the officers elected: Chairman, John Joe Bradley; Secretary, Paddy Donohue; Treasurer, Loreta Bradley; Organiser, Paddy Mullarney; P.R.O. Joe Deehan. This of course is only part of the great progress being made in Co. Westmeath.

THE INTRODUCTION of the Prevention of Terrorism Act to the Six Counties should be the occasion of a sustained protest at the very strong of this movement. The fact that it is being used against "loyalists" who may or who may not be responsible for a series of cowardly killings in the "murder triangle" should not be allowed to cloud our minds. The strong possibility that it is accompanied by torture should make us all the more angry and apprehensive. Torture would appear to be increasing rather than decreasing. Regardless of what happens in the Six Counties, it becomes politically impossible. The way to make it become politically impossible is to act against it even more strenuously than against internment.

ABOVE: From our editorial of August 22.

BELOW: From "Irish Independent" (August 20), page seven.

on his arrival in Kill last night with Iris Kellest, owner of Free.

## BRUTALITY BY R.U.C. ALLEGED

COUNCILLOR Philip Black, a Vanguard Unionist member of the Craigavon Borough Council, said yesterday that they were awaiting police action either on disciplinary of criminal lines, or to have over complaints alleging brutality against two Lurgan men.

The men had been held by police for questioning after the Miami showband murders.

He said that in the meantime civil proceedings on behalf of the Loyalists against the R.U.C. were being contemplated.

Earlier, Councillor Black's father, Convention member Mr. Allister Black, told a Loyalist meeting in Portadown that one of the two men concerned had been held by the arms and legs and his head knocked against a wall during police interrogation.

"Some of the things done to these men, Nazi thugs would have been ashamed to have done," he said.

Unionist members of the Craigavon Borough Council who were present at the Loyalist rally in Portadown expressed full support for the Unionist

members of the Newry and Mourne District Council who withdrew from the meeting in protest over the murder of Mr. William Meakin near Newtownhamilton last week.

The Craigavon Council also criticised the refusal of the S.D.L.P. representatives on the Newry Council to back a Unionist resolution calling for support for the security forces in their efforts to defeat terrorism.

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## Rats leaving sinking ship

Captain Terence O'Neill, the former Ulster Premier, is selling his home in the province and moving to live permanently in England.

The 61-year-old ex-Unionist, who now sits in the House of Lords as Lord O'Neill of the Maine, says he is quitting for "personal and not political reasons."

## JOHN JOSEPH MARTIN

Many Republicans gathered in County Leitrim last Sunday to witness the unveiling of a new headstone over the grave of John Joseph Martin.

John Joseph Martin was born in Corraleshanbeg on the Cavan-Leitrim border on 9th of September 1917, the son of Terry Martin and Bridget Meehan. His granduncle, Phil Meehan, was shot resisting evictions in June, 1880, and Phil's grandfather was killed at the Battle of Ballinamuck in 1798. No wonder, therefore, born of such Nationalist stock, John Joe joined the Irish Republican Army in 1933. He soon showed his qualities for leadership and rose fast in the ranks to become O.C. of the Leitrim Battalion, succeeding the late Jimmie Joe Reynolds in 1936. In the split of the late 1930's, as Leitrim delegate to

the Army Convention he backed the more militant stand of Sean Russell and supported for Russell's executive men like Larry Grogan, Sean McNeela, Tony Darcy, Peadar O'Flaherty. First arrested in 1939, he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment; on his release he was re-arrested and supported in the Curragh Concentration Camp from 1940-1945. Due to the economic depression of that time, John Joe reluctantly decided to emigrate to the U.S.A., but de Valera and Boland, not satisfied with the amount of hardship already imposed on him, forwarded his convictions to the American Embassy and had him refused visa. Finally following a change of Free State Government, he emigrated to Canada in 1948. There he continued his support to the I.R.A. and its

allied Republican organisations, until he finally returned to Ireland in failing health in 1969. From 1969 until his death on 17th November, 1972, he remained active in the Provisional I.R.A. His death at a comparatively early age left Ireland and the Republican movement poorer, but his life of sacrifice and dedication will serve as an inspiration to his comrades and to a younger generation, who hardly know him, to continue the struggle until the last sod of Irish soil is free. Ar dheis De go rabh a anam.

At the graveside Larry Grogan unveiled the memorial. John Joe McGirt presided and Anthony O'Malley Daf. Donegal County Councillor, Sinn Fein paid a tribute to the late John Joseph Martin.

There he continued his support to the I.R.A. and its

## LIMERICK VICTORY

AFTER nearly five months without seeing her children Rita O'Hare has at long last wrung from Cockroach Cooney the basic human right to embrace and hug her children.

A new visiting box has been erected at Limerick Jail. The box has no screen or partition and is what Republican Prisoners would describe as an "Open type Visit".

Rita received her first visit last Tuesday from her children and the first words she said to them were "We beat them!"



Rita O'Hare



The Aux. Bishop of Dublin most Rev. Dr. Carroll (Right) and Most Rev. Dr. Buchanan (Second from left) Protestant Archbishop of Dublin with other Churchmen.

## Oh Lovers of Peace "Where are You?"

THEN there was the story of the lads who were interested in Peace. They bravely marched in Dublin against the Provos. After all "They" were responsible for all the troubles in the Six Counties.

Since the true 122 people have been killed. Even Mr. Rees is on record as saying it is mostly loyalist violence.

So far we can't confirm that all the "Peace" lovers are staging a monster rally to the

UDA/UVF headquarters in Belfast. But when we do you can be sure we will let you know.

THEN there was this other story about Paddy the Irishman etc, etc.



The new headstone over the grave of John Joseph Martin. On the left Larry Grogan and far right, John Joe McGirt.



# When the English Leave Ulster

When the English withdraw from Ulster, will that mean an end to the British presence there?

It will mean an end to political control of the Six Counties by the London Government and an end, in this sense, to the English presence. But it won't mean an end to the British presence.

How so? Well, there will still be nearly a million people in the northeast — most of them descendants of Scottish and English settlers — saying that they are British, proclaiming their allegiance to British traditions and to British Ulster, and rejecting Irish nationality.

In a recent letter to *An Phoblacht*, Thomas Duffy of the Bronx, New York, wrote as follows about these people:

These settlers must decide to live in Ireland as Irishmen or return to Britain if they wish to continue their orientation towards the English throne.

Is this the Republican policy or attitude towards the Ulster British? Mr. Duffy seems to be suggesting that Republicans would say, in effect, to the Ulster British: "Either you must abandon your Britishness and your allegiance to the British crown, or you must stay in the Irish nation and its traditions, or you must get out". That is certainly not the Republican policy or attitude.

The Republican Movement is, first and foremost, a political movement with political aims, rather than a cultural movement with cultural aims. Consequently, it is not particularly concerned about the "Britishness" of the Ulster British so long as it can persuade them to accept a common citizenship with their fellow Irishmen in an Irish federation.

The Republican Movement is well aware that it is meaningless to say to the Ulster British "You must stop being British, you must be Irish". In what sense "must"? You don't get people to change something so personal as their sense of nationality by telling them they "must".

The English spent the 19th century trying to persuade the Irish that they were British. Many Irishmen were prepared to go along with them for a time, but they failed in the end to persuade most of us. We remained stubbornly Irish and refused to be British.

Does that mean that the Ulster British will remain "British" even when the New Ireland comes to pass?

For the foreseeable future, even in the New Ireland, there will be hundreds of thousands of people in northeast Ulster proclaiming their Britishness and displaying their attachment to the "British way of life". There are no reasonable grounds for expecting anything else.

It is very rare for large compact groups of people to change their nationality. When they do, the change is a very long-drawn-out process, lasting several generations. People never change their nationality overnight. They cannot.

Are you saying, then, that for the foreseeable future a federal Ireland would contain people of two nationalities, sharing a common Irish citizenship?

Yes. Or to put it more precisely, the Ulster province of an all-Ireland federation would, for the foreseeable future, contain people of two nationalities, sharing a common Ulster citizenship and a common Irish citizenship.

Would it be likely, with time, that the Ulster British would be assimilated into the Irish nation?

It is not likely that they would become part of the broken Irish nation as we know it, but they could become part of a new Irish nation, with a new national consciousness, which would grow out of a fusion of Irish and Ulster British elements. This would depend on a new definition of the Irish nation emerging, to which Irish and Ulster British could both give allegiance.

More precisely, it would depend on a new definition of *Ulster* emerging, to which the Ulster Irish and the Ulster British could both give allegiance. Then this new Ulster identity would become part of the overall identity of a new Irish nation.

If this happened, it would happen through a cultural process taking place within the political framework of an all-Ireland federation. Achieving this new,

all-inclusive Irish identity is a different matter entirely from achieving an all-Ireland political union — which is the immediate, more modest aim of the Republican Movement.

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I have received some Republican journals. The *Free Derry News* No. 4 is a five-page stencilled paper, price three pence. The *Provisional* No. 13 is a four-page stencilled paper (no price stated) published by Armagh Comhairle Cheantair.

The *Provisional* has an excellent article on the Catholic Church and public morality in the Six Counties. After quoting a South American priest on the role of the bishops in the revolutionary situations of that subcontinent, the author has this to say about bishops nearer home:

Condemnation after condemnation, they condemn violence, they condemn any move towards self-respect for the Irish people; in short, they are what one would term "PRO-ESTABLISHMENT". Yet, how seldom we hear them utter cries of condemnation at those who would destroy the people, and how seldom they stand on the side of National Right when this goes against the Government that is in power — no matter how corrupt.

He goes on to say: We condemn not the Church, for the Church is made up of you and I, but we do criticise and chastise those individuals who, by virtue of position, claim they are the Church, and its limits, and would guide you subtly on a path away from full assertion of rights to a path of mild and humble subjection to all authority, (the Six-County Government), that has no jurisdiction in law or morals.

Both the *Free Derry News* and the *Provisional* are good local papers, smacking of Derry and Armagh respectively. But neither of them contains any political discussion about the future of Ulster, about the Republican policies for Ulster, or about the application of these policies in Derry or Armagh.

This is simply not good enough.

The North Kerry Comhairle Cheantair publishes a stencilled 6-page paper which it describes as "the voice of Kerry Republicanism". How so? Is there no South Kerry or West Kerry Comhairle Cheantair?

The name of the paper is *Roisin Dubh*. It is misspelt as *Roisin Dubh*, which is a pity because the misspelling occurs in a nice green title block. I don't know whether the issue in front of me is a one-off job or whether *Roisin Dubh* comes out regularly. It bears no date or number. Nor has it any price.

There are several good articles, notably one on the link with sterling. But the paper shows no interest at all in Kerry, let alone in North Kerry. It contains no discussion at all about how the people of North Kerry are to win control of their own affairs in a self-governing Munster.

This is strange because a note at the end says: "We need more workers... who are willing to devote most of their spare time to serving the local community and to publicising the policies of the Republican Movement".

At a recent seminar in Dublin sponsored by the *Financial Times* of London, our "revolutionary marxist" pointed out that the E.E.C. dream as visualised by the Rome Treaty had, as its primary thrust, the establishment of a region wherein there would automatically be completely free movement of goods, capital and labour, all with an eye to creating an "undistorted market economy".

Such a concept, Mr. Keating went on to say, could not be reconciled with either regional or industrial realities. From which, he said, it followed that the Treaty itself had to be regarded

# P. ROBINSON "FORGATE"

A while ago I wrote that Freeman 'annoyed' me. It is not necessarily a bad thing to be annoyed about something; I do appreciate Freeman being controversial and stimulating discussion.

But this week I'm closer to being infuriated with Freeman. I then says, 'I am pointing out, praising the great morality of the boys and girls of the I.R.A. who when planting bombs in the North, have so often, quite needlessly, risked their lives in order to give a warning — lest there be civilian casualties'. There shouldn't be any question at all about giving a warning. It is imperative. Of course a bomber is always taking great risks, whether someone gives a warning or not.

Planting a bomb is a planned, aggressive act. I'm not going to get too upset about destruction of property, but to give a warning to try to prevent civilians being killed is the least the perpetrators can do. Don't boast about something which should be a matter of course. The reason that the bombs in Dublin or the murder of the Miami Showband members or the bombing of the Bayardo Bar were particularly evil acts is not, to my mind, because they were perpetrated by one side or another, but because the attacks were designed to kill innocent people (in order to indirectly punish someone else or to accomplish some goal).

There is of course something filthy about black flag terrorism and about any attempt to attribute one's own crime to

someone else. Often enough the media is insensitive to such activities. At least Freeman is making some attempt to sensitise his readers to the undercurrent propaganda in the media. But is he not doing the same thing when he quotes the *Irish Times* and then says, 'I am pointing out, praising the great morality of the boys and girls of the I.R.A. who when planting bombs in the North, have so often, quite needlessly, risked their lives in order to give a warning — lest there be civilian casualties'. There shouldn't be any question at all about giving a warning. It is imperative. Of course a bomber is always taking great risks, whether someone gives a warning or not.

As far as the 'peace people' are concerned, they are a motley crew, and are also used by the press. There aren't many people who are truly against all war; it depends what 'cause' is being fought and who is fighting it. But many sincere people are 'put off' Republicanism because they connect it with war-mongering. The numerous atrocities committed during the ceasefire must be causing them some confusion, some pause for re-thinking. There were always several groups involved in violent acts. The U.V.F. committed murders in 1966, before either the civil rights demonstrations or the present I.R.A. campaign. Still, the I.R.A. is a more publically, clearly identifiable target to protest against (in part because it claims responsibility for its acts).

I don't understand, however, why Freeman thinks that ending the ceasefire 'would probably mean less killing' (As *Leathanach* 6: 26). I tried to figure that one out. If the assassins are trying to

provoke the I.R.A. into ending the ceasefire, or to frighten the public into accepting British Army control, they would have succeeded, and would have all the more opportunities to defame the Republican movement. As the I.R.A. has not disbanded, but has only ceased the offensive, suppose it would consider punishment of assassins — if they could be positively identified — within the terms of the truce, am therefore under the impression that Freeman's only reasoning is the illogical argument that since killings have increased since the beginning of the ceasefire, they would again decrease with its ending. What want most as a reply to this letter is a clarification of this statement.

If Freeman is really trying to give us a clear view of the situation, let him worry about worse enemies of freedom. I'm not at all convinced that 'peace people' are all a bunch of vicious seonins. Most of the energy behind the peace rallies emanates from one man, Reverend Joseph Parker. I suspect that his emigration has much more to do with the cessation of peace rallies that does the I.R.A. truce. The prayer meetings always did appear rather trivial to me. I have every respect, however, for people who are trying through peaceful means to improve our living conditions to increase our opportunities, and self-determination, and to bear witness to truth as they see it.

— P. Robinson

## MAJOR STUDY ENDORSES REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC POLICIES

By Our Economics Correspondent

AS Ireland endures an economic collapse with over 100,000 unemployed, a 25% inflation rate, and 484 company liquidations in two years, some degree of realism is at last entering the financial pages of Irish publications.

Lates in a growing number of economic studies which expose the banalities of orthodox economic thought which has dominated public policy — making in the "Free" State, is the recent report from the prestigious Economic and Social Research Institute. Without expressly saying so, the report endorses the major precepts of Republican economic policy, such as the vital importance of the home market, and the need for a flexible exchange rate policy vis-à-vis Sterling. At the same time, the report is critical of the emphasis on export-led growth as the principal motor of Irish development and the orientation of investment aids to capital intensive industry when there is a large surplus of labour.

The Republican Movement has been constantly making these points over the last decade or more, but while the 26 County economy was caught up in the world economic boom of the late 60's, the unpalatable home-truths were being ignored in favour of foreign loans, the speculative profits from urban office buildings, and wildly exaggerated promises of "El Dorado" with either E.E.C. Now that the party is over, however, the cold light of morning is exposing the illusions

on which our ticky-tack prosperity was based.

The morning after" feeling was expressed recently by none other than the Taoiseach, Mr. Cosgrave, when telling us that the task of fighting unemployment and inflation was made more difficult by the surrender to the Common Market of power to implement appropriate measures such as import tariffs. Such disavowal of the Common Market is rapidly spreading, not only among the workers who have been unceremoniously thrown on the scrap heap of redundancy, but among the Government itself. Shortly after Mr. Cosgrave's amazing revelations of incompetence at the highest levels, came words from the self-styled "marxist revolutionary" Minister for Industry, Mr. Justin Keating.

At a recent seminar in Dublin sponsored by the *Financial Times* of London, our "revolutionary marxist" pointed out that the E.E.C. dream as visualised by the Rome Treaty had, as its primary thrust, the establishment of a region wherein there would automatically be completely free movement of goods, capital and labour, all with an eye to creating an "undistorted market economy".

Such a concept, Mr. Keating went on to say, could not be reconciled with either regional or industrial realities. From which, he said, it followed that the Treaty itself had to be regarded

"as a confused and self-contradictory document which was becoming less and less relevant".

In the coming months the members of this hapless Dublin government will seek to blame everyone but themselves for the massive and growing unemployment they have brought about. Mr. Cosgrave has already started to blame the E.E.C. and his Cabinet members continue to heap abuse on the Republican and trade union movements. Individual members of trade unions must ensure that their leaders stand firm in defending the living standards of the working class and not allow the government to shift the blame. Individual republicans should avoid adopting a "I told you so" attitude, but should make clear to their friends and workmates that there is no inevitability in having 10% unemployment and 30,000 school-leavers facing blighted prospects as they make their first steps into adult life.

The Republican Movement offers the way forward through a policy of based on self-reliance and self-respect. Never was there more work to be done in building a New Ireland, and never — not even in the hungry 30's — was there more work to be done. Now we have a greater need to harness the productive capacity of our rich natural resources, and never has there been more shameless mismanagement and exploitation. These are the contradictions the Republican Movement is pledged to remove

NOTEBOOK

by

FREEMAN



# REPORTAGE

## POLICE VIOLENCE

THE verdicts in the Birmingham bomb trial have established a precedent beyond any shadow of doubt, for state-organised torture and police violence to procure convictions in political trials in Britain.

Facts which emerged during the trial of the nine accused Irishmen revealed a very sinister story of police intrigue, deliberate planned brutality and perjury by state and prison authorities, and — like the Kenneth Lennon affair — the use of agents provocateurs. It was more than important in fact it was absolutely vital for the authorities concerned that 'guilty' verdicts be returned in the case of the accused.

The trial according to the British Press was one of the 'most extraordinary in legal history', and the bombings themselves were the pretext for the 'draconian legislation' rushed through parliament immediately following the arrests of the accused men. Press coverage was colossal, but not one paper mentioned that the brutality meted out at Winslow Green was commonplace in occupied Ireland. Even the trial judge, Justice Bridge, was forced to comment that 'the allegations of brutality made by the accused were true the police in Birmingham were a

gestapo, and that the era of the rack and thumbscrew was back'. He obviously hasn't been to Northern Ireland in recent years. Almost everyone who was concerned in either the arrests or interrogation of the prisoners are seen to be guilty in some way. The Judge made it clear he believed that the Doctor in Winslow Green Prison had 'constantly lied to cover up the "prolonged assaults"'. The British Medical Association has been strangely silent since these revelations were made.

Evidence from the prosecution raises even more sinister goings-on. Thomas Watt and James Kelly admitted in court that they held extreme right-wing views. Watt also admitted that, he kept British-spies Kenneth Littlejohn in his house when he was on the run having 'escaped' from prison in Ireland, and that Littlejohn was in Birmingham at the time of the bombings.

The police for their part admitted having visited Watt at his home in Birmingham before the bombings. This raises several vital questions. Were provocateurs used in the Birmingham bombings? What very extraordinary

coincidence brought police officers, Watt and Littlejohn together under the same roof in Birmingham? Who was really responsible for the bombings in Birmingham city-centre last November? These revelations — sinister as they are — call for an enquiry, an independent enquiry, into not only what happened at Winslow Green Prison, but into the whole apparatus of police activity and methods used to gain convictions.

—Michael Holden (Rural),

## POLITICAL POWER

THE principles of power is a profound and penetrating arrow which is pointing to the basic human trait underlying all illegitimate governments is that of fear. But more than that this fear is obsessive playing no favourites, holding the impoverished people in the grim clutches of fear, as adapted by the British Imperialistic Government in Northern Ireland today.

The one sure and certain characteristic of illegitimacy in government is this two-pronged terror the ruler's fear of the people, and the people's fear of the ruler. This fundamental principle lives in history for the past (800) eight hundred years, in Ireland.

On the other hand government devoid of fear — whatever the form, from an hereditary monarchy to a constitutional republic — is firmly embedded in the principle of legitimacy. When this prevails, confidence and unity, outward calm and inner peace, are reflected in the lives involved, whether subjects or citizens. It naturally follows that any country, lacking respect for the consent on the part of the people, and restraint and concern for all on the part of those in power, is sick and in serious trouble.

Then no dreamed up psychosis of continual crisis, or prefabricated image of dynamic leadership, based primarily on power and government spending, even when served up with demagogic platitudes, can substitute for a diet of truth — for honest men which does not exist in Ireland as the news media is heavily censored under the talons of Dr. O'Brien.

Nothing like this can cure the dangerous internal lesions, nor fill the spiritual void and restore the basic tranquility.

In the contrary, moral people, even when denied the facts of national life — the truth essential to their

survival — intuitively sense that something is wrong. Since confidence is a two-way street, their confusion leads to suspicion, suspicion to distrust, and distrust to national disunity. At this point the confidence between government and governed is destroyed by mutual fear. At such an advanced state of national dissolution, disunity is not a cause, but a natural and inevitable result of illegitimate government prevailing in Ireland today.

Nor can it be cured, that is, can spiritual unity and national strength be restored, by any false front. The shallow depreciation of 'hate' as the cause of national tragedy; the vilification of patriots as 'extremists'; the preaching of peace while appeasing evil, are dishonest resorts which exacerbate instead of healing the malady. Such fear cannot be banished, and the reception we enjoyed in the First Class Hotels where we stayed: We have group photographs taken in Killarney to show — that we were on the Intercontinental Tours.

By correspondence with many of those visitors, Germans, French & Belgians as well as our Irish/American friends.

It has been their custom to take a movie camera and film all along the routes — scenery and buildings. One of the buildings now very much in the News across the wide world is that of "Portlaoise" renowned now on account of the hunger strike put on there by Republican prisoners:

I am very certain that if I or my friends and many visiting acquaintances wish — we would want to have especially a film of Portlaoise Jail — we have seen Film on Ulster TV. of Garda batmen marching on the Anniversary Day of Internment — from that film we saw armed soldiers on the roof of the prison — why then should our visitors not be allowed to take snaps of the prison by order of any CIE Manager.

Our visitors are not arriving until September — I will now personally see to it — that if we are not permitted to take snaps from a CIE bus — we are not interested in filming any other part of Ireland from a CIE BUS AT ALL — we can hire a PRIVATE BUS and from it we can do as we please — We appear to have lost a number of LIBERTIES and we have not had sufficient warning in time to tell our visitors what to expect — Refusing to allow snaps of the prison to be taken from a coach is definitely going to let them HAVE THE RIGHT IMPRESSION — and it will let everyone outside this country give credit to that

appeared on a notice board:— Portlaoise Gaol.

Gardaí have questioned a coach four passengers who took a paragraph of the gaol from the coach as the coach was passing. Certain embarrassment and delay was caused as a result.

Crew members are now requested to request passengers not to take photographs from coaches when passing the gaol.

—J.R. Adams 8/8/75

Each year I send a CIE Brochure to my two sisters and their friends in England — and we go on a Princess Coach Tour around Ireland — We have many friends joining us also who are coming from as far away as California, San Francisco, and New York; our names are in your books; and we have filled in our appreciation habitually of the Coach Conductor and the reception we enjoyed in the First Class Hotels where we stayed: We have group photographs taken in Killarney to show — that we were on the Intercontinental Tours.

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The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement. Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Failite ar leith roimh Ghacáige.

## Notice to our advertisers

We regret that in future, advertisements cannot be accepted for publication later than the Wednesday prior to day of printing.

A New Zealand reader wishes to complete file of AN PHOBLAICHT for Irish Community's Library. Back issues required — particularly for 1970-1973 period. All costs covered.

Please reply to S. Healy, 33 St. Columba's Road Upper, Dublin 9.

aise ar Bhreandán Feirteir mar chaidéir, sin tuairim — tuairim, dála an scéil, leana n-aontaim féin freisin, cé nach bhféadfadh duine ar bith a thuigseam an scéal a ní gur cara phearsanta liom an féin-teorach céanna. Ach is corúil nach bhfaighthead daoine cead a dtuairim féin a bheith acu faoi rud ar bith de bhfaighthead daoine áirithe a mbealach. Mar a tharlaíonn, ní rabh mé ag caint le Dóib ach uair amháin ó ainm ar Ardtheas an Chonarth a leith. Comhrá pearsanta, sóisialta i gClub an Chonarth a bhí ansin agus son ní a luagh mé féin, faoi mhíchairínnis in alt féin ar Tuaisce, níor mheas mé go bhfeicfinn i gcóir deo 6. Ní rabh ag lorg 'cosanta' ní tacasochta ó Dóib ná ó dhúine ar bith, agus ní bhíonn tionchar dá laghad agam ar a cholún. Fíleil agus finne atá anseo. Maidir le tuairimí, dá luath a thuigseam de bhoblaicthe bréige gan ainm, gur féidir a leithéid a bheith ag daoine agus nach namhrad féin chuide dhúine nach bhfuil siats glacadh lena bport féin ar chúrsaí ar bith, is amhlaidh is fear, is cuimhin liom an tordá a bhí ag an ndearcadh seo ar an nGluais-eacht cheana.

Beir Beannacht,

Na Forbacha. Nollaig Ó Gadhra Co. na Gaillimhe.

## Hugh Gerard Coney Memorial Committee



A Committee has been formed to erect a fitting memorial to Lieut. Hugh Gerard Coney, Oghlaigh na hEireann, late of Clonoe, Coalisland, Co. Tyrone who was shot dead by Crown Forces while trying to escape from the Long Kesh concentration camp, where he had been interned.

All subscriptions should be forwarded to: Mr. J. Donnelly, 4, Gortgonis Park, Coalisland, Co. Tyrone.

## AN CUMANN CABHRACH (Drogheda Branch)

Chicken & Chips Supper Dance

Boyne Valley Hotel, Drogheda.

Friday September 19th.

9pm — 2am

Music by The Maher Family

Subscription £1.50

## AN CUMANN CABHRACH

A Great Night of Music

at The Hitching Post

on Thursday, 11th September

commencing at 8pm.

Comper: Noel Ginnity, comedian.

Admission: £1.00 (Bus extra)

Buses will leave 44, Parnell Square and other areas.

Get your ticket now and avoid disappointment.

DON'T FORGET THE PRISONERS OF WAR



# Assassination List?

THE DERRY BRIGADE of the Provisional I.R.A. recently captured several documents from a loyalist source according to a statement supplied to us. Included in these documents is one headed 'The Derry Trades (IRA) Council'. It lists names and addresses plus religion of the delegates. We leave to our readers imagination to decide who handed this list over to the 'loyalists'. For obvious reasons we have blacked the names and addresses.

The captured document reads as follows:

## THE DERRY TRADES (IRA) COUNCIL

In a recent issue of the Ulster Defender we pointed out some of the sectarian policy of the so called Derry Trades Council whose continual complaints against the Army and R.U.C. is becoming an embarrassment to local Trades Unions. This body who claims to represent a wide cross section of the working class community is nothing more than a front for the I.R.A. in the city.

Any protestants who have shown any interest in the councils affairs has been quickly discouraged with the result that the Roman Catholics have complete control and now use the good name "Trades Council" as a sectarian pressure group. Below are some of its members, check them and see if you agree that they are an impartial body.

## DERRY TRADES UNION COUNCIL

UNION	RELIGION
Amalgamated Transport and General Workers	Roman Catholic
	Roman Catholic
	Roman Catholic
Irish Transport and General Workers	Roman Catholic
	Roman Catholic
Plumbing Trades Union	Roman Catholic
	Roman Catholic
Amalgamated Engineering Union No. 1	Roman Catholic
Amalgamated Engineering Union No. 2	Roman Catholic
Post Office Engineering Union	Roman Catholic
Union Post Office Workers	?
Northern Ireland Musicians Association	Roman Catholic
Electrical Trades Union	Roman Catholic
Union Construction and Allied Technical Trades	Roman Catholic
Irish National Teachers Organisation	?
	Roman Catholic
National Graphical Association	Roman Catholic
Association Scientific Technical Managerial Staffs	Roman Catholic



A Catholic victim

# Catholic Assassinations

THE ASSASSINATIONS of Catholics, which commenced in May 1972 on the instructions of William Craig, has now reached unbelievable and terrifying proportions. The daily increasing numbers of assassinations is superseded only by the barbarity by which they are carried out. The barbarism and cannibalistic tendencies of Loyalists is unequalled even in the far reaches of Africa.

The assassination of Catholics which has been carried out to date fall into 2 categories (a) those perpetrated by loyalist murder squads (b) those carried out by the clandestine British Military Intelligence Squads.

## PSYCHOPATHS

The murders of three members of the Miami Showband and Joseph Toland (78) of Blear, Lurgan are only 4 of 400 murders carried out by assassins who have already been labelled by psychiatrists at Purdyburn as perverted psychopaths. These psychiatrists have done a detailed analysis of the assassination of Catholics and their results would indicate a complete disregard for the victim, reducing him to the level of an animal.

Such is the mentality of the loyalist murder gangs, who roam these streets picking out their victims, man, woman or child. What is not commonly known is the way in which death is often inflicted on some of these Catholic people. Those victims who had the extreme misfortune to fall into the hands of loyalists have sometimes been put through the most dreadful torture, sometimes extending over many days before death is a happy release (see photo).

## FACETS COVERED UP

Some Catholics have died of sheer terror. These are the facts that the Press, the media, the R.U.C. and the British Government would like to cover up. Those poor people who are gunned down in their own doorway, on the streets going to work are in such a horrifying situation, better off (to say the least) than those who have fallen into the clutches of loyalists. Indeed it has often been remarked that the only thing that loyalists have not done to Catholic people is 'eat them'.

As many other cannibalistic 'actions' have been done, such as gouging out the eyes of their victims, cutting off their noses, inflicting the stigmata of our Lord on their hands and feet; filling gouged-out eye sockets with rosary beads, one poor Catholic boy was missing for 4 days; he died of terror after having his whole body burnt with cigarette ends; dropped on his head repeatedly, and having the stigmata inflicted on his hands.

He lasted 4 days under this torture until he finally died. Another man from the Oldpark area received 170 stab wounds in his back. Even the Brits were appalled at this crime and supplied photographs of the body of this man to show the case up, but the press would not publish.

## WOMEN LOYALISTS

They say there is none more deadly than the female of the species, and in this regard female loyalists are none different. Consider the death of Ann Ogilby, callously and inhumanly put to death over a period of several hours, while her child cried outside the door of the torture chamber.

Over the period May 1972 to August 1975, 400 Catholic people, and people married to Catholics have been put to death because of their association with the Catholic faith. Their deaths in many cases have been dreadful.

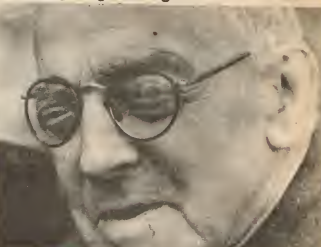
The silence of many has been too obvious. Willie Craig has now turned turtle, but even he cannot stop the monster he created. There are people who will think this article is rather bloodthirsty. We take the view that the truth must be told.

Catholic people are careless, they still hold fast to ideals of mercy, compassion from others; no compassion or mercy was shown to our 400 people now dead. No mercy was shown to the members of the Miami Showband who lined up on that lonely roadside to be gunned to death.

## BRITISH ASSASSINATION SQUADS

Actively collaborating with the loyalists are the Brit Murder Squads, and they have claimed many lives. One was Daniel Rooney of St. James, another was Patrick McVeigh of Finagh Road North. These are the deaths of the Brits have stated causing; consider the scores of others not claimed, but allowed to go under the umbrella of the loyalist

Still going strong ...



Our many readers will be delighted to hear that Joe Clarke continues to make a good recovery after his recent illness and we all look forward to seeing him out and about again.

# Belfast Brigade Warning

THE FOLLOWING statement has been issued by the Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann.

"The murder of Sean Farmer and Colum McCartney near Newtownhamilton on Sunday night, following the Miami band massacre a few weeks ago, poses the obvious question: How much longer are UDR murder gangs to be allowed freedom to roam the roads with the blessing of the British Government, with the protection of the British Government, with arms supplied by the British Government?"

The UVP has accepted responsibility for this foul murder (or at least have acknowledged that it was carried out by one of their satellite organisations - the Protestant Action Force). Why then blame the UDR one may ask? Because we can state positively from information at our disposal that the majority of UDR personnel are also members of Loyalist paramilitary organisations.

We have repeated claims from the UVP that within their organisations they have serving members of the UDR, British Army, RUC and RUC Reserves; and to back this assertion how often have we witnessed the spectacle of UDR men in court charged with offences such as armed robbery, possession of arms etc., declaring their membership of the UVP/UDA from the dock and concluding with a cry of "NO SURRENDER!"

When the RUC B-Special force was disbanded, their officers made repeated calls to their men to join the UDR and "Save Ulster." They answered this call to such effect that the UDR became a resurrected 'B' Special Force. Has the British Government ever revealed what percentage of the UDR are ex-'B' men? This then is the Force that politicians are urging us to place our trust in and to co-operate with in putting an end to terrorism!

Mr. Farmer and Mr. McCartney were murdered at a UDR road-block which an RUC patrol had passed through a few minutes earlier. The RUC said they thought the patrol was manned by 'legitimate' personnel. Is it not a fact that any unit of the State Forces operating a road-check in the area would be attached to the same RUC barracks and therefore unmistakably recognisable?

## IN MEMORIAM

In proud and loving Memory of Staff Captain Thomas Harte I.R.A. murdered by Free State Quilings on 6th September 1940.

Six Countess are in bondage still,  
Those men who died was this their will,  
Until their free and oppressions cease,  
Only then will they rest in peace.

Always remembered by the officers and members of An Cumann Thomas Harte Sinn Fein, Lurgan.

The Annual Commemoration Ceremony at the grave of Staff Captain Thomas Harte will take place on Sunday 7th September in St. Colmans Cemetery, Lurgan. Parade will form up at the cemetery gates at 3.00 p.m. sharp.

(Organised by An Cumann Thomas Harte in conjunction with the National Graves Association).

Is mise,  
Liam Hedcock.

**LIAM LYNCH  
COMMEMORATION**  
**Knockmealdown Mountains**  
**Sunday, September 14, 1975.**  
**at 3.30. p.m.**

murder gang? Consider the case of Patrick McIlhose, who was executed after he had completed a long day's work at his father's farm. Taken into a field and murdered there.

## CARELESS CATHOLICS ARE DEAD

How often must we warn Catholic people regarding their own safety. How many of you still open your doors at night, without any knowledge of who or what is on the other side of it? How many of you take the same bus, the same train, the same route day in and day out to your work, or other places? How many of you flout every day by carelessness.

-Courtesy "The Nation"



# An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 17. 8p. Aibreán 30, 1976.

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.  
(As Dail Eireann)

## G.P.O. PLEDGE TO FREE IRELAND



A section of the crowd assembled at the Dublin G.P.O. on Sunday, April 25.

### Tá an laoch ar lár...

The celebration was marred by only one significant event, the death of the 1916 veteran, Séosamh Ó Cléirigh, whose funeral could not take place last Sunday, as hoped. In our next issue there will be a centre-spread coverage of the funeral, along with the oration by a former editor of this paper, Eamon Mac Thomáis. We extend deepest sympathy to his bereaved widow and family.

● Our picture (right) shows Séosamh being greeted by a young Republican as he was selling Easter Lilies in O'Connell Street in 1966. See also pictures on page 3.



DESPITE a widespread and well publicised bid by the Dublin regime to foil the commemoration by the Republican Movement of the 60th Anniversary of the 1916 Rising at the General Post Office in Dublin the celebration went according to plan, with speaker after speaker pledging the overthrow of direct and indirect imperialist rule in Ireland and the winning of Irish freedom. The attendance was estimated at 25,000.

Although the collaborationist regime provided a massive and provocative show of force, with hundreds of helmeted Gardai and armed soldiers in full riot gear, only two incidents threatened the order and discipline observed from the moment of assembly in St. Stephen's Green to the dignified dispersal, after a spirited singing in Irish of the national anthem, lead by Sean Ó Ciáinín, the veteran Derry Republican.

At the G.P.O., before Joe Cahill opened the commemoration, while some contingents were still marching past, a uniformed Garda pushed his way roughly through the crowd, very apparently in a bid to start a riot.

He pushed one bystander just too hard and a mini-riot developed. Eventually, he was rescued by some of his colleagues. Then all the Gardai withdrew to the back of the crowd, the crowd's good humour returned; and, as a band played "A Nation Once Again" and "Take it down from the mast, Free State traitor," hundreds joined in.

Before introducing the first speaker, Joe Cahill said that, in 1972, he had stated in Dublin that the Provos were a force in Ireland. It was evident from the turnout before the G.P.O., despite the harassment and intimidation, that the Provos were a bigger force than ever.

A member of Fianna Éireann, at 16.30 hours, read the Proclamation of the Republic, as first read by Padraig Mac Piarais on Easter Monday, 1916. This was followed by Last Post and Revillé, by a Fianna bugler.

#### NOTABLE ABSENCE

Joe Cahill then spoke again, saying how proud he was that the Republican Movement had organised the celebration of the Easter Rising, looking at the sea of faces before him.

There was only one really notable absence from the platform party, one who had been present year after year, decade after decade, at the Easter commemorations, that of Séosamh Ó Cléirigh, (Joe Clarke), who had died recently. This was followed by tremendous applause.

If that hero of Mount Street Bridge, 1916, were present, his message undoubtedly would be as always, to remember the men of Easter Week and their objective, to free Ireland.

Joe Cahill then referred to some of those in the platform party, Fiona Plunkett, a direct link with 1916, the sister of Joseph Mary Plunkett, one of the 1916 martyrs; her close friend, Maire Comerford, a veteran of the first independence war and a life long Republican; and the veteran "Protestant Republican," Geoffrey Coulter. The crowd cheered the three enthusiastically.

Another veteran Republican, Joe Gleeson from An Aonach, Co. Tipperary, then was introduced and spoke of the greatest injustice inflicted on Ireland by the occupying imperialist power — partition — and the two resultant puppet states, in Belfast and Dublin.

But, despite the huge number of those collaborators with the foreign power, the hundreds of police surrounding the commemoration, the cause could not now be lost. "Victory is ours," he declared.

A member of Cumann na mBan, in uniform and wearing dark glasses, then delivered a moving oration in praise of the  
(Ar leanúint ar lech. 7)







# Highlights in life of late Joe Clarke



Joe (right) at the time of the 1916 Rising, with his friend, Larry Rani.



Historic picture taken by Dr. Alan Fitzsimons at the Sinn Féin headquarters, 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin, in the summer of 1918. Dr. Buchanan called to the H.Q.S. to see his sister, Anna. He took the photograph of the staff in the basement, brought the film back to London and sent back the prints, which went down in S.S. Leinster to be salvaged later.

Joe Clarke is in the front row (left), sitting on the lap of Barney Mellowes; beside him is Emily Lawless.



Joe Clarke with Countess Markievicz.



Joe Clarke (right) was the Sean Lemass election agent in November, 1924, when Lemass (centre) was elected on the Sinn Féin abstentionist ticket. Lemass later used that election to take his seat in Leinster House, refusing to return the Sinn Féin deposit which he put into Fianna Fail fund. On the left is Dr. Loran Sherlock, returning officer. The picture was taken in the Central Model Schools, Marlborough Street, Dublin.



Joe, pictured in the doorway of Maher's shop, Tara Street, Dublin, which was the Republican contact centre during the 1940s.



Joe Clarke pictured around 1956 with Fr. Micksey Conway, L.R.A. member who was sentenced to death in 1936 by the Free State authorities. His sentence later was commuted to penal servitude.



Joe acclaimed at a Sinn Féin Ardfeis in Liberty Hall, Dublin, 1972, when he was made honorary vice-president of Sinn Féin for life.



# RECORD CROWD TOOK PART

The latest reports show that an estimated 125,000 people participated at over 40 Easter Ceremonies last week.

Viewers of R.T.E. might have been surprised to see only reports of Orangemen marching. The Republican commemoration on the R.T.E. News Bulletin were given a 20 second report. In other words were trying to create an impression that in fact Irishmen and women do not remember the patriotic dead of Ireland, which of course, is in line with the Cruise's new version of Irish History. How is that for brainwashing?

## SOUTH TIPPERARY

The South Tipperary Commemoration was held at the grave of General George Plant — a protestant farmer, and veteran of the war of independence who was shot by the Free State Government in Port Laoise prison in 1942. Among the large attendance was his sister, Miss Plant.

The oration was given by Liam Mínnagh of Cavan. Bill Loneran, a veteran Republican and comrade of the late George Plant laid a wreath on the grave on behalf of the Republican Movement. Wreaths were also laid by John Guerin on behalf of Fianna Éireann and by Thomas Burns on behalf of the Sean South Sinn Féin Cumann, Tipperary town. The Easter message from the Leadership of the Republican Movement was read by Mrs. May Healy, the Proclamation of 1916 was read by Eddie Doherty and the Tipperary Roll of Honour was read by Marcus Fogarty, who also claimed the proceedings.

"It is fitting that here in Tipperary we call to mind one of our most respected sons, George Plant", said Liam Mínnagh in the course of his oration. Mr. Mínnagh went on to detail the treachery strategy of Éamonn De Valera in arranging the political murder of Plant.

The speaker also referred to those who gave their lives for Irish freedom since 1969 and said that the only monument worth erecting to their memory was the ending of British rule in Ireland; and that he said will happen in only a matter of time.

## SLIGO

The annual Easter Parade was held in Sligo. The attendance was the biggest yet and the crowds looking on were much larger than in recent years.

The Commemoration was held at the very fine monument to Sligo's noble Six, in the local graveyard. P.J. Kearney presided and the oration was delivered by Charlie McGlade. Earlier a Commemoration and parade had been held at the grave of Martin Savage, Ballisodare who lost his life at Ashbourne on 19th December 1919, during an attack on Lord French. A nephew of Martin Savage read the 1916 Proclamation and the oration was

given by Charlie McGlade.

The first Easter Commemoration to the grave of Martin Savage was held last year — this year's Commemoration was treble the size of last years and it created a very favourable impression in the area.

## DROGHEDA

The Commemoration to the local Republican Plot was headed by the new Slua of Na Fianna Éireann, which gave an immaculate demonstration in foot drill. At the Plot Veteran Republican, Larry Grogan welcomed the public, which included Sean McStiofain and his daughter. Larry condemned the hooligans who had desecrated the Republican Plot only the previous night and advised the Gardaí present that they would be better employed chasing the hooligans than intimidating the local members of Sinn Féin.

On a happier note, Larry said it was a great personal honour for him to welcome John Joe McGirl to Drogheda, as he had a great admiration for the loyal men of Leitrim.

John Joe in his oration explained that what was happening in the North War. "War by the soldiers of the Republican Movement against British occupation in Ireland", he said. "This is the final phase in the long struggle in which so many have given their lives. Efforts are made to depict it, as the irresponsible work of a minority of hooligans and terrorists bent on destruction for destruction sake. They ask you not to support the struggle and pretend that politicians in London, Dublin and Shonnessen politicians in the six counties will solve the problem and bring peace. There are none more interested in peace than the Republican Movement, but they have seen every British imposed solution, not only a failure but non-starters."

"They have seen the Free State collaboration in maintaining the mutilation of our Country and have watched a proper corrupt single party regime in the six counties for 50 years. They know from history that England will not yield to the force of persuasion, but only to the persuasion of force", he concluded.

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## DUNDALK

During the course of his oration in Dundalk, John Joe McGirl spoke of the men



ABOVE: Peadar Tunney reading the Easter Message at the ceremonies at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

and women in action against the enemy.

"Today, I ask you", he said, "that while honouring Ireland's dead, that you spare a thought for those gallant young men and women carrying on the struggle in occupied Ireland and to look on them with pride, and give them your support, and also to look at the Fascist Action of a Fascist dominate regime, acting in your name in the South. The brutality and attempted humiliations carried out in Port Laoise, the open collaboration proposed by the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill, the Brainwash and censorship of the mass media, and the latest and newest, the brutality of the police paralysed only by the hated R.U.C. in Hollywood and Castlereagh."

"To-day I ask you to remember Frank Stags, who gave his life like a true heir of McSweeney and to condemn with me the cowardly inhuman and callous action of the Free State following his death."

## SOUTH DERRY

About 2,000 people assembled at the Loup. The parade to the Cemetery was headed by a Colour Party and all Sinn Féin Cumann in the area were strongly

represented. Wreaths were laid on the grave of Brigadier Commandant Sean Larkin murdered by Free State Troops in Drumboe in 1923. The Proclamation was read by Mac Devlin, Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle. Amongst these present was the sister of Sean Larkin.

In the course of his address Uallteir O Loinsigh said that the minority of Nationalists that supported the S.D.L.F. at last year's Convention, helped in no small way to prolong Britain's stay in Ireland. Many voted in order to cast a vote against Unionism, but rather than destroying it, they gave it more permanency. The Republican Movement is determined that the struggle will continue until a successful conclusion is reached, and British Troops are forced out of Ireland. This generation must not pass on to future generations the task of winning our freedom.

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## TYRONE

At Moy wreaths were laid on the graves of Sean McKearney and Eugene Martin. A decade of the rosary was recited. Frank Hughes read the Proclamation and Andrias O Ceallaigh gave the oration.

Uallteir O Loinsigh, Ard Runai, Sinn Féin gave the oration in Coalisland and Clanoe.

In Clanoe the parade to the cemetery was led by a Colour Party and fifty members of Fianna. Wreaths were laid on the graves of Kevin Kilpatrick and High Gerard Coney. The Proclamation was read and the Last Post sounded. Prayers were also recited. Amongst the attendance of yelatives were the mother and father of Gerard Coney.

In Coalisland a parade headed by a band and a Colour Party and Fianna marched through the town to the Cemetery where wreaths were laid on the graves of the dead volunteers interred in the Cemetery.

## LONGFORD

About 600 marched in Legan, Lenamore. The parade was headed by a Colour Party and a pipe band. The Ceremony took place at the graveside of Patrick Farrell, who was killed in action during the Tan War. The Longford Roll of Honour and the Proclamation was read by Mary Casey, a niece of Barney Casey who was murdered in the Curragh by Free State Forces in 1940, read the Easter Statement. Tony Ruane, National Treasurer of Sinn Féin who gave the Oration referred to the events leading up to the 1919 Rising. He spoke of the 1913 strike and also the part played by the politicians Redmond and Dillon, who recruited men to go to Falders and Guillopoli to die, but opposed the men who stayed at home to win Ireland's Freedom. The acceptance of the Treaty had led to the building of a Fascist State in this part of the country. This fascist state is clearly amplified by the presence here to day of dozens of Gardaí in the Cemetery and the many Special Branch Cars on the roadside.

Speaking of the huge number of children present, Mr. Ruane said he was glad to see so many present and these children would be the Republican soldiers of tomorrow.

## FERMANAGH

Members of the Pat McManus Cumann, Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, laid a wreath on the grave of Pat McManus in Kilduff Cemetery at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning. Also present were members of the Republican Movement from Swanlinbar and Camlough. They proceeded to Knockminney, Derrylin Co. Fermanagh to lay a wreath on the grave of Jim Murphy.

The Easter commemoration was held at Donagh before a very large crowd. Charlie Boylin, Co. Cavan, gave the oration and warned the Buts that Republican prisoners would never wear the Criminal Garb. "So much had been sacrificed on hunger strikes for the political prisoners to surrender their ideals to a bankrupt politician like the Welsh washout, Mervyn Rees", he concluded.

Tom Flitely was chairman and Fr. Kenneth recited the Rosary. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the various Republican organisations.

## LONDON

Over 500 members of Sinn Féin attended the Easter Commemoration in London. Bridie O'Donoghue, a sister of the late Proinsias Stagg, was detained by Special Branch at London Airport for an hour when she arrived, to give the oration.

During her oration, she stated that there was a message for the Buts and it should be proclaimed loudly and clearly.

"That message is that the Buts days in Ireland are over", she said.





# IN EASTER COMMEMORATION

"Let that message go out clear, Englands days in Ireland are perished, and the S.A.S., the Brits army, the U.D.R., or any other form of modern black and tans will not stop the march towards freedom in Ireland. There is only one decent thing left for England now, to be honest, and declare their intention to withdraw from Ireland".

Bridie thanked the gathering on behalf of her mother and family for their help, support and sympathy during her brother's last hunger strike. She concluded: "Beidh an gal greine in Eirinn go foill".

Derek Hystead chaired the proceedings and the Easter message was read by Finbarr Kissane.

## DUBLIN

There were two demonstrations to commemorate the Easter Rising in the capital city.

The first was held in the morning after 10 o'clock mass at University Church, Stephen's Green, to Glasnevin Cemetery. The parade was headed by a Colour Party of Cumann na mBan, George Lynch presided.

The Easter Message was read by Peadar Tunney and Deasun Breathnach recited a decade of the Rosary.

Maurice Conway of Tyrone gave the oration, during which he condemned Rees for trying to take political status away from the Republican Prisoners. He expressed his concern for the inhuman treatment of prisoners in Limerick, Mountjoy and Port Laoise jails and drew the parallel between the recent brutalities of the Free State Branchmen and their Special Branch counterparts in the North.

There was a second parade to Deen's Grange in the afternoon.

## ENNISCORTHY

Tribute to all who died for Ireland and freedom was paid in Enniscorthy on Easter Sunday. The Ceremonies were organised by the Enniscorthy Easter Commemoration Committee.

A parade formed up at Foley's Garage and led by a Colour Party and St. Patrick's Pipe and Drum, Wexford and Myshall Pipe Band, proceeded via Abbey Square - where wreaths were laid at the Seamus Rafter Memorial and at the O'Brien-Spillane Plaque at the Post Office. The parade went on to the grave of George Keegan in St. Mary's Cemetery.

Contingents from Wexford, New Ross, Gorey, Monageer, Donard, Courtmacuddy, Bally and other areas participated.

Mr. Michael Nolan presided at the Ceremonies at the graveside. Mr. Jim Cowman recited a decade of the Rosary. Mr. Kevin Sheehan read the 1916 Proclamation and Sean Doyle U.C. delivered an oration. The ceremonies concluded with the sounding of the Last Post and Reveille by Miss Geraldine Walsh of Gorey.

The Parade reformed and marched to the Market Square, where the band played the



The parade on its way to Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

## Seamus Harvey remembered

National Anthem.

Wreaths were also laid at the following graves and memorials: The graves of Capt. Sean Moran, Myles Moore, the O'Connor Brothers, George Keegan, Martin O'Connor, all in St. Mary's Cemetery, Enniscorthy; the Grave of Fenian Chas J. O'Farrell, in the Corrig Cemetery, Enniscorthy; the Parle-Crane-Hogan, Taghmon; Kyle Cross Memorial, I.R.A. memorial, St. Stephen's Cemetery, New Ross; the grave of John Kelly, in Kilmone and at the 1798 Plaque in St. Mullins Cemetery, Co. Carlow which commemorates the Carlow and Wexford patriots who are buried there.

On Easter Sunday, there was a large attendance in the cemetery adjoining St. Patrick's Church, Aghyran, Co. Tyrone when members of the Seamus Harvey Sinn Féin Cumann formed a guard of honour at his graveside with banner uplifted at the start of the remembrance ceremony.

Seamus was killed in action in 1973 along with Gerard McClynn at whose grave in Castleberg a wreath was laid on behalf of the Cumann.

There were two wreaths laid

on Seamus' grave - one by his sister, Christine Harvey, a member of the Cumann, on behalf of the Cumann and the other by his brother, Denis Harvey, on behalf of Oglagh na hEireann.

Miss Mary Breslin, another Cumann member, read the Proclamation and, afterwards, a decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by John Philip O'Donnell, one-time internec on board the "Argenta". The graveside oration was spoken by Mr. Eddie Fullerton of Donegal Sinn Féin.

The remembrance over, the Cumann chairman - Mr. Michael McHugh - thanked the people of the area for their support during the year.

The Cumann then went to the Drumboe Commemoration at Stanorlar where they marched behind their banner in the queue. A wreath was laid on behalf of the Cumann by Michael McHugh. Our photo shows Eddie Fullerton of Donegal speaking during the graveside ceremony.

## Cavan Commemoration

Our picture shows George Stagg, brother of the late Proinsias Stagg giving the oration at the Republican Plot in Cavan.





# Over 3,000 in Drumboe Parade

OVER 3,000 people assembled in glorious sunshine in Drumboe for the Easter Commemoration. The parade marched, led by Colour Party, from Johnston's corner, Stranolar, through the main street, on through Ballyboffey and back to the Memorial where wreaths were laid on behalf of Sinn Féin. The parade continued on to Drumboe Castle where Liam McIlhinney presided.

The proclamation was read by Pat Doherty of Carrigart. Eamon Monaghan read the Roll of Honour and the Easter Statement was delivered by Raymond Tierney. Seamus Quigley recited a decade of the Rosary. Joe O'Neill was Chief Marshall. The oration was given by Daithí O'Connell in the course of which he said:

"It is perhaps, too coincidental that the man who sent Charlie Daly and his comrades, Enright, O'Sullivan and Larkin to their deaths were those of the first Free State Government. Today the successors of that group of men are in power. And we experience and see that the mentality of the first Free State lives on in the minds of young Cosgrave, though he is not so young now, and the Cooneys and their colleagues. When one stands at this spot, a very simple little place, the thing that hits one is still the open grave. The memory of what the senior Cosgrave did to the young men of Kerry whose only crime was to join with Sean Larkin in Derry and fight against the forces of occupation. The mentality which sent the martyrs of Drumboe to their deaths is still alive, much to the tragedy of this country", he continued:

"The problems facing Ireland today are essentially the same which confronted the generation of 1916. The cruel oppression of a foreign power which resulted in a mass grave in Arbour Hill and thousands of our people in British jails still dominate in part of our country. The brutal social conditions against which Connolly worked, fought and died are no less evil today than in his day. And the sapient

## Message from May Daly

Beannacht De oraibh . . . Our faithful people gathered there in Drumboe today.

Now it is 53 years for your faithfulness and for keeping the banner of Charlie and his comrades forever green. I express my deepest thanks.

I am more convinced than ever that they did not die in vain. I feel the dawn is breaking and may God forgive the bandslaves who sent my brother and his comrades to their death.

Paying tribute to May, Daithí O'Connell said:

May, the eldest of the Daly family has given life-long service to the Republican Movement in bad times and in good. She stood loyally and steadfastly behind the Irish Republican Movement and the message she sends us today is characteristic of that great old lady.

servile attitude of the then-Irish leaders is no different from that of today's politicians who serve English interests in Ireland with a vigour and energy never attained by even John Redmond.

"We also suffer from the intransigence of a minority of our people whose claim to a special and supremacist role in our society has resulted in so much death, bloodshed and suffering.

"The killing, jailing, torturing, the gross misrepresentation and vilification of those who are the resistance has not deterred by one jot the burning desire to end British rule once and for all. 157 volunteers of our members have given their lives in that struggle. Thousands have lost their liberty. Those who died, those who endured imprisonment, and those who suffer imprisonment today do so, not in pursuing a romantic dream, but in an attempt to attain the basic requisite for establishing a lasting peace in this country.

"During the last twelve months the enemy was given ample opportunity to reserve its dilemma without further bloodshed. All that was asked of the British Government was to state clearly, publicly and unequivocally what many of them were saying privately. But the British choose otherwise. They spurned the opportunity of the truce. They sent Proinsias Stagg home in a coffin and deployed the professional killers to the S.A.S. in South Armagh. England's sincerity for peace was in inverse proportion to the suffering and agony of Proinsias Stagg. Wilson's personal decision to send the S.A.S. to South Armagh was the most significant admission by a British Prime Minister that his regular army was defeated in the field. The latest action of the S.A.S. has been to shoot an unnamed prisoner in the last few days and the only message relevant to those people now is what Cork did to the Black and Tans. South Armagh will do it S.A.S.

"The responsibility rests firmly and squarely now with the British Government for deciding how many of their soldiers must die before the moment of truth is faced and a British withdrawal is announced. Such an announcement may be heart-breaking for English politicians. It will be cold comfort for the Dublin regime. But it is vital and will be the turning point in a thousand years of history and a decisive step in removing violence and bloodshed from the political life of this country.

Towards that goal the Republican Movement will direct the bulk of its resources. The second outstanding problem facing our people today is the worsening social and economic situation north and south. The economic disengagement by British firms from the north illustrates the greed and instability of capitalist society. It is of no concern whatsoever to



Daithí O'Connell giving the oration at Drumboe.

those who are hell-bent on salvaging their ill-gotten goods.

"Connolly's message to industrial Ulster was never more relevant than it is today. And we look forward to the opportunity of creating the socialised society which is the only sure guarantee of prosperity and equality. Politicians in the South will advance many reasons for the fall in the standard of living. They will plead world inflation, instability of sterling, and disappointment with the E.P.C. The politicians have even the temerity to blame the people for not tightening their belts, while they themselves grow fatter and richer with the passing of every day.

The hypocrisy of these people is borne out by the vast sums of money they are spending to maintain British rule in the Six Counties. It is said that Dublin has no policy on the north, but the opposite is the case. The Free State Government has a clear-cut policy of maintaining British rule at all cost. Over £200 million will be spent this year on what is called security. There is no money to create jobs because bigger jails and military barracks are required. Money for education is not available because extra tanks and planes must be purchased. "That then is Dublin's policy on the North. The essence core of that policy is that England, whether she wills it or not, will not be allowed to leave Ireland as far as the Cosgrave regime is concerned. The Free State was created to maintain British rule with an economy of Irish lives. It does so today with an economy of English money. The Irish people are the losers. The loyalist community of our nation are losers in another context. For centuries Loyalists were useful cannon-fodder in England's wars and necessary voting material in England's Parliament. They were a privileged class and were rewarded by England with a special Sectarian State. That state has now disintegrated under the weight of its own corruption and the anger of the people whose myth enlived.

"There is no going back to the days of the old Stormont. Republican Ireland has demonstrated clearly that never again will an orange junta operate

a fascist state against any section of the Irish people. The Brit Government has equally demonstrated its utter futility of attempting to find solutions in a artificial situation. We are long removed now from White and Green Papers, Darlington conference Executives and Conventions and, thankfully, we are rid of the people who saw a lasting and permanent solution in every one of those proposals.

"The basic aim of British policy was to isolate the guerrillas from the people and install the so-called moderate politicians in Government. The reality today is the obliteration of the politicians and vigorous growth of the guerrilla forces. The lessons of the last few years cannot be lost on thinking-loyalist people. While there is no going back to the old Stormont there is a way of going forward to a new Ulster. Republicans, more than any other group have done more to understand the legitimate aspirations of the loyalist people and again, we owe to them our proposals for a nine-county Ulster as practical basis for resolving the differences skillfully fostered by an alien government down through the centuries. Our differences will not be resolved by ignoring them. They must be examined in the cold light of reason and, given an end to English interference, there is no reason to believe that we who live in this island cannot evolve a form of society which will enhance the well-being of all our people. These and many other problems face our country to-day. It is our duty in the Republican Movement to offer vigorous and responsible leadership to our people in solving them.

"We will spread our campaign to every parish in the land. We must challenge the suicidal policy of the Dublin regime in political, economic, social and cultural terms.

"We can no longer permit the subtle undoing of the positive values of our heritage, cherished for centuries by our unconquered and unconquerable nation. Neither can we permit the sell-out of our natural wealth upon which depends the future prosperity of our own children. But above all, our greatest and most immediate task is to end the occupation of our country by an alien power", he concluded.

## Fitting tribute to O'glaigh Officer

South Armagh came out to pay fitting tribute to a great soldier of Ireland on Easter Monday, when thousands of people converged on the village of Belleeks to attend the funeral of 25-year-old O'glaigh Staff Officer, Peter Joseph Cleary, who was brutally murdered by an S.A.S. killer squad.

Upwards on four thousand people testified to the staunch support for the Republican Movement in South Armagh and the respect in which the young freedom fighter was held.

The occasion also marked a further

tribute to another South Armagh O'glaigh Staff Officer, Sean Boyle, at whose grave a Celtic Cross Memorial was unveiled. Sean was killed in a tragic road accident near the border just over a year ago.

Black flags hung in Belleeks village and the shops closed down as a tribute to young Cleary, whose proud parents and other members of the family walked behind the tri-colour draped coffin upon which the young O'glaigh Officer's beret was also placed. His comrades, members of Cumann na mBan, Na Fianna Eireann and a host

of Republicans followed the cortege. The coffin was carried in relays from the deceased's home. The funeral was the largest ever seen in South Armagh.

Many wreaths were laid, and after a two minutes silence, three volleys were fired over the grave and a bugler sounded the last post. In a graveside oration Mr. Gerard McCarthy, Cork, repeated what he had said at Crossmaglen the previous day, — that Cleary's killing would be avenged by his O'glaigh Comrades in South Armagh. He described Cleary as the latest in a long list of young martyrs

who had given their lives to free their country. And he also categorically denied the slanderous allegations made by the British that Cleary was involved in sectarian killings, adding that the Provisional I.R.A. did not engage in sectarian murders, but that the war was directed against the British and those who collaborated with them.

Mr. Frank Driver, Kildare, in an oration at the unveiling of the Memorial to Sean Boyle, said that he knew Cleary personally and had a great respect for the young Republican.

Free State police brutality was in evidence in the border village of Ballyconnell in Co. Cavan on Easter Sunday night when police in riot gear and Free State troops baton-charged civilians in the town street. Several young men have been treated for injuries received in the baton-charge. The residents have decided to send a protest to the Minister for Justice, Cooney, and the Minister for Defence, Donegan. They are also asking the Association for Legal Justice to take up a case on their behalf, against the Free State Forces.

Villagers described the attitude of the Free State Forces as "brutal". They said that this behaviour could not be tolerated and was blatantly provocative, as innocent by-standers were struck along the side-walks.

Cavan District Sinn Féin Councillors are to take up the matter.



Our picture shows the funeral of Staff Captain Peter Cleary.





● Daithi O Conaill is acclaimed at the G.P.O. Seated (right) is veteran Republican Joe Gleeson from Nenagh. Other "Boys of the Old Brigade" included the Protestant Republican, Geoffrey Coulter.

(Ar leanúint o lch. 1)

bravery of O'laigh na hEireann. Again, her message was clear: we will have our country, every 32 counties of it, free and independent. Their sacrifices shall not be in vain.

She was followed by the Sinn Féin president, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, who pointed out that the 1976 objective is the same as that of 1916; that it is the same fight with the same organisations, an unbroken link with the past in every conceivable way.

He reminded his listeners of Connolly's words after embracing Pearse that Easter Monday morning at the G.P.O., that henceforth there would be no Citizens' Army, no Irish Volunteers, only the Irish Republican Army. Thus, this diamond jubilee of the Easter Rising was also the diamond jubilee of O'laigh na hEireann, "sixty years young on this very day."

#### CALL TO UNIONISTS

The first Republican message from this Easter commemoration was "to our separated brethren, the Unionists of the north-east. "We need you," he declared. "We want you. There is a place and an honoured place for you in the new Ireland."

With the Unionists the Republican Movement would dismantle the northern and southern statelets and build a new, free Ireland of brotherly union. Their place was with the Republican Movement to establish a new society, where church and state would be separated, a genuine pluralist society, a real democracy, where the dignity of man would be enthroned. The basis for this society was in the federal Ireland based on the four provinces.

The Sinn Féin president reiterated the conditions of the Republican leadership for peace with Britain and pointed out that the Irish freedom struggle was part of the worldwide

struggle for the liberty and the brotherhood of man.

Ruairí was followed by the Sinn Féin vice-president, Daithi O Conaill, who delivered his first Dublin address since his release from Portlaoise Jail.

The clear objective of 1916 was to smash British rule in Ireland, Daithi stated. It was the same objective in 1976 and this time victory would be ours. The British had sent the Black and Tans to Ireland in 1920 just as they had sent the SAS, officially, into the Six Counties last year. The SAS would be smashed as surely as the Black and Tans had been smashed.

#### NO MANDATE

The Dublin ruling clique often spoke of its mandate. But it had no mandate to desecrate 1916. It had no mandate to brutalise the prisoners in Portlaoise Jail. It had no mandate to cut down on hospitalisation, on education or on other priorities just to please the British by putting more troops and Gardaí on the Border.

He had a nudge for the journalists employed by the kept media: it was time for them to make up their minds whether they were mice or men.

As for those who had demonstrated their discipline and courage by taking part in the 1916 commemoration that day, let each and every one return to his parish and townland and put the message across, that now is the time to end British rule in Ireland forever.

"Those who set out to devil Easter Week," Daithi said, "merit nothing but utter contempt."

"But in a way, perhaps, they did a good job, in saying that you should not come here. Because they underlined a basic difference in this country, those who want to maintain British rule and those who want to abolish it. We will abolish British rule, come Dublin or no Dublin.

"A handful of men came to this spot sixty years ago with



Joe Cahill, speaking at the G.P.O. Seated on right of photograph is Fiona Plunkett, sister of 1916 martyr, Joseph Mary Plunkett.

one clean-cut objective: Smash English Rule in Ireland. They came for a purpose. They spelt it out clearly, when they asserted the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland; to the unfettered control of our destiny to be sovereign and independent.

"That is the objective that must be secured by you and I of this generation because to do otherwise is not to keep faith with the men of Easter Week.

#### "YOU ARE THE LEADERS"

"You are the leaders," he stated. "You have demonstrated your courage and your discipline. Now is the time to show your talent." The message from these leaders of the people was clear: "Put your faith in the Provos and Ireland will be free."

Joe Cahill thanked everybody for attending and congratulated the bands for the marvellous displays. In echoing the words of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh appealed to the people to leave this historic place with dignity.

"We have had our commemoration in spite of everything and, no matter what lies ahead of us, we don't give a damn what's before us, because we know that, wherever we may be, you, the people, are with us."

Sean Ó Cianáin then led the singing of Amhrán na bhFiann which was taken up fervently by the crowd.

#### Correction

In last week's issue, owing to a typist error, the attendance figure for Belfast Easter Commemoration was given as 5,000 whereas it should have read 25,000 people.



A youth unfurling a Tricolour as the crowd assembled at the G.P.O.





The parade entering O'Connell Street.



Members of Cumann na mBan who re-enacted the 1916 Liberty Hall March.



While some contingents were still marching past, a uniformed garda pushed his way roughly through the crowd, very apparently in a bid to start a riot. Ugly scenes were avoided when the garda was restrained by a Superintendent (left).



A view of the platform.



A section of the marchers.



One of the many pipe bands which formed part of the parade.



The Cathal Brugha Band, Turf Lodge, Belfast.